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ABSTRACT

This study examines the ways in which parents and other community members, especially urban minorities and the poor, participate in decisions that bear on the education of their children. Information concerning the role and effectiveness of community organizations in Atlanta, Boston, and Los Angeles over a 15 month period is summarized. The information provided includes: (1) an historical overview of the role that community organizations have played in the development of school policy: (2) a description of the study's research methods and procedures: (3) types and characteristics of community organizations: (4) organizational features and interrelationships: (5) organizational effectiveness: (6) organizational policies and policy goals: (7) the politics of school systems and community organization access; and (8) the influence of the city's political culture on community participation, particularly with regard to the issue of desegregation. References are provided for each of the areas discussed. (Author/EB)

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CITIZEN ORGANIZATIONS: CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL DECISIONMAKING

Final Research Report

Marilyn Gittell
with Bruce Hoffacker, Eleanor Rollins
and Samuel Foster

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FOREWORD

This report is the capstone of nine publications resulting from a 35-month research project. The Institute for Responsive Education (IRE) in Boston was the prime contractor. The subcontract for this report, under the direction of Marilyn Gittell, was with the Graduate Center for the City University of New York. The Education and Human Resources Development Division of Optimum Computer Systems, Inc., of New York City was the subcontractor for the first half of the project.

Entitled "Citizen Organizations: A Study of Citizen Participation in Educational Decisionmaking," the project was funded by the Program on Educational Organizations and Local Communities of the National Institute of Education, a part of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The principal purpose of the overall study was to increase understanding of ways in which organizations: (1) have impact on local decisionmaking; (2) work to increase the responsiveness of public institutions (e.g., schools and school systems); and (3) enhance the power of minorities and low-income residents. The study was particularly concerned about the ways in which parents and other community members, especially urban minorities and the poor, participate in decisions that bear on the education of their children.

The main body of this report summarizes what was learned about the effectiveness of citizen organizations and the environment in which they function in three cities--Atlanta, Boston and Los Angeles--over a period of about 15 months. Much of the data upon which the summary report rests can be found in a separately bound appendix.

The other publications resulting from this project are described below. They are available from the Institute for Responsive Education.

1. Education for All People: A Grassroots Primer

This resource directory was designed specifically for grassroots citizen organizations working on school issues. It suggests sources of help and includes information about nine major topics: how school systems are organized; parent and student rights; bilingual education; the education of handicapped children; school desegregation; health, nutrition, and safety in the schools; how to evaluate a school; how parents can help children learn at home; and, fundraising by nonprofit groups from government, foundation and corporate sources. In addition, brief entries are provided on a wide range of other topics of interest to grassroots citizens, issues such as standardized testing, teacher organizations, collective bargaining, bookkeeping and accounting for nonprofit groups, street law, and school volunteers. Some Federal programs that grant funds to local nonprofit groups and that are education-related are listed along with 120 national organizations providing information or services to grassroots groups.

2. A Report to Policymakers on Citizen Participation in the Schools

Addressed to local, State, and Federal policymakers, this publication draws on the various aspects of the Citizen Organization Study and also on a range of other recent studies and evaluations of citizen participation in government-mandated programs. The publication summarizes the current status of government efforts to foster citizen participation, and suggests policy alternatives to be considered.

3. Patterns of Participation in Educational Decisionmaking

The two volumes of this report are a status report on citizen participation in the schools. The two volumes can be read separately but are closely interconnected and interdependent.

Volume I: An Overview of the Status of Citizen Participation is an interpretive essay by Don Davies, establishing an ideological framework and historical and cultural context, including the influence of government interventions, and summarizing information and ideas about who participates in what issues and in what ways. Included is a summary of evidence about the impact of citizen participation on policy, service delivery, student performance and participants.

Volume II: Diverse and Shifting Forms of Participation considers in more detail a variety of channels for participation. Chapters are devoted to each of four major forms of participation: community control, school councils and advisory committees, grassroots neighborhood associations, and child advocacy groups.

4. Federal and State Impact on Citizen Participation in the Schools

This report examines the impact of Federal policies on citizen participation, the effects of State legislation, the role of the courts and judicial activism, and, in particular, the role citizens have played across the country in the school desegregation issue.

5. Social Science Theory and Research on Participation and Voluntary Associations: A Bibliographic Essay

This review of theory and research on interest groups is intended for policymakers and researchers concerned with citizen participation in educational decisionmaking. Topics include the functions of participation, network analysis, ethnicity and political participation, the changing urban environment and the neighborhood government movement. Special attention is given to issues such as decentralization and community control.

6. Citizen Participation in Educational Decisionmaking: An Annotated Bibliography

Updating a previous bibliography prepared by the Institute for Responsive Education in 1974, this publication provides annotations on more than 800 books, essays and articles on citizen participation.

7. A Directory of State and National Organizations Serving Local Citizen Groups

Designed as a tool for citizens involved in schools, this resource directory appears in *Citizen Action in Education*, the national newsletter of the Institute for Responsive Education.

The Institute for Responsive Education is a nonprofit, private organization, founded in 1973 by Don Davies to study and assist the process of citizen participation in educational decisionmaking. It is housed in the School of Education, Boston University, where Davies is a professor.

For more information about this NIE-funded study of citizen organizations, or about the Institute for Responsive Education, write or call:

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We especially want to thank the hundreds of people in Atlanta, Boston, and Los Angeles who contributed to the success of this study by participating in interviews and meetings and in completing the field survey questionnaires. We are grateful to the organizations (anonymous in this report) which were willing to take part in this study, opening their meetings and records and providing us with their ideas and perspectives.

Data gathering at each of the three sites was the responsibility of a full-time site coordinator and an administrative assistant, and a staff of part-time community researchers, All of these researchers were from the communities and organizations being studied and brought to the research an insider's vital perspective. Our greatest appreciation goes to the coordinators and their staffs in the sites for their good work and invaluable perspectives.

In Atlanta, the site coordinator from early September to early December 1977 was Calvin Lockridge; from December 1977 through completion the coordinator was Michael Fisher. The administrative assistant was Carolyn Tyson. The community researchers were: Kimberly G. Cohran, Gene Fergerson, Muriel Hamilton, Robert Holloway, Samuel Jimerson, Clare Richardson, and Larry Moss.

In Boston, the site coordinator was Ann O'Malley. The administrative assistant, Barbara Scott, also participated in research. Community researchers in Boston were: Rhoda Bumpus, Ed Crotty, Mary Jo Deppisch, Irene Key, Robert Perry, and Argentina Rogue.

In Los Angeles, Marsha Hirano-Nakanishi served as site coordinator. Judy Cheng was the administrative assistant and part of the research team. The community staff people were Ruby Aguilar, Raul Arreola, Sophia Esparza, Marilyn Kizziah, Donald Nakanishi, Rosemary Nastasia, Beth Osthimer, Dorothy Rugley, and Sybel Stanley.

In addition to the Principal Investigator, the Institute for Responsive Education's staff included James Upton, who served as field research coordinator from the beginning through the summer of 1978. Upton, with a doctorate in political science from Ohio State University, is currently an assistant professor at the Center for African American

Studies of Ohio University. He is the author of Urban Violence: A Case Study of Three Cities. We acknowledge the sensitive understanding of urban communities and social science research skills which Dr. Upton brought to our study.

Other valuable contributions by IRE staff were made by Alison Ridley Evans, senior editor, and Jane de Groot, production assistant. Joyce Jehnsen was administrative assistant for the project from September 1976 to September 1977, and Bernice Randell served in that position from the fall of 1977 until May, 1979.

Special thanks go to Dana Rudolph who supervised the completion of the work in the summer of 1979. We also acknowledge the help of Marion Van Arsdale, Steven Chapin, Dale Conway, Carol Herzog, Constance Hyde, Lena Napolitano, Falise Platt and Agnes Quinn who assisted with the final typing and proofreading.

The ideas, analysis, and interpretations in this report represent the views of the designated authors and not necessarily those of the Institute for Responsive Education or the funding agency.

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PREFACE

It is not often that a social scientist has the opportunity to pursue a subject over a period of years and from different perspectives. In my work on school politics over the last 15 years I have been fortunate to secure support to study school systems and the development of school policy. In this research, for the first time, we have concentrated our attention on the role of community organizations in that process. This gives us a more complete picture of all of the participants and the influences on school policy.

Support for community participation in school policymaking in Federal, State and local policies and in the statements of public officials is pervasive. The lack of information on the role and effectiveness of community organizations, however, was a severe gap in the knowledge of how to best pursue these goals. This in-depth research on 16 organizations in three large cities raises important questions for those who seek to encourage and stimulate citizens' roles. Although the sample, by statistical sample criteria is small, it did permit enough comparative analyses to tell us that the class background and strategies of organizations were primary determinants of behavior and effectiveness. The findings regarding the importance of external dependency, conditioned by government policies, should be particularly instructive to policymakers.

We are particularly indebted to the organizations and the community researchers at each site for their willingness to engage in this research. Without their knowledge and direct access to the organizations we could not have collected the data. At times it seemed impossible to sustain the three site staffs, particularly because they were people committed to the role of community organizations. The difficulties entailed in maintaining contact and support between a central office of researchers and site teams were often overwhelming, especially because we were lacking a field research coordinator throughout the field research effort. The site coordinators in Boston (Ann O'Malley) and Los Angeles (Marsha Hirano Nakanishi) did "yeoperson" work in that regard. The Atlanta site leadership was a problem throughout the study and finally we depended on Samuel Foster from our staff to fill in the gap.

This study has been very special in many ways. The series of crises which led to months of negotiation to maintain continuity in the research were most disheartening and disruptive. The entire central research staff in New York City, which continued to work without pay for over six weeks, when it was not even certain that they would have jobs, or even be paid, represents a rare dedication to a research effort.

The central research staff was diligent in their pursuit of data and in their commitment to the subject matter. This full-time permanent staff (consistent throughout the study) of Bruce Hoffacker, Eleanor Rollins, and Samuel Foster constantly challenged concepts and worked together as a cohesive research unit. Bruce Hoffacker coordinated the entire study and was a focal point for solving problems. His maturity and intelligence gave us stability over the two years, and we all owe him special appreciation and respect. Vivian Nelson provided invaluable administrative support over the course of the project. The staff extended their enthusiasm for the work to a group of graduate students at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York in the last year of the project, students, who, I am certain, will find it difficult to adjust to other styles of research. The eight graduate students, who joined the enterprise at different times, prepared background papers and shared our seminars. They helped us work through problems and were a major asset to the study. Their representation of a cross section of social science disciplines greatly enhanced the discussions. Mark Hoffacker, Nancy Isserman, Paul Jardine, Gail Kuenstler and Doreen Williams, have been stalwarts in this effort. Norman Gertner and Richard Lipsky also added to our perceptions of the issues. The CUNY Graduate Center and particularly its president, Harold Proshansky, helped us to pick up the pieces in the middle of the study and provided an environment conducive to research. Our consultants Gary Delgado, Mike Krasner, Janice Perlman and Karolynn Siegel broadened our perspective and provided important insights, each in their own way. Our editor, Peter Skinner, deserves an award for patience and high standards.

I am deeply indebted to all of these participants.

Marilyn Gittell
Research Director

June, 1979

I.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICAN POLITICS

This is a study of politics--of power and powerlessness. Our particular focus is on the role and effectiveness of community organizations, how poor and working-class groups can exercise power in educational policies in urban school districts.

Our hypotheses in this study are based on the cumulative research on school politics and community organizations. They include the following:

(1) that poor and working-class people are comparatively powerless;
(2) that powerless groups receive fewer benefits, including educational benefits, especially in times of scarcity;
(3) that to gain benefits and opportunity, people must gain power; and
(4) that to gain power poor and working-class groups depend upon numbers, lacking other resources.

Our assumption in this research is that community organizations are an instrument for reflecting particular interests, that there are different interests in society and that lower-income community organizations are necessarily directed at changing the system. The determination of the effectiveness of these organizations should then be measured by whether their strategies, structure and actions are rational for these particular ends.

Class differentiation cannot be underestimated as a significant factor in the character, goals and functions of community organizations. The reasons for creation of the organizations, and, subsequently, their status and their strategies and tactics differ. The middle-class population is not alienated from the system; generally as individuals they have access to it and are socialized to manipulate it, at least to achieve individual or personal gain. Lower-income and working-class organizations are built on a different premise. Lack of access and power as individuals is a fundamental fact for poor people. The organization provides a potential source of power or access. The organization must pursue collective or group goals. For many of these organizations their evolution is from movement to organization. Institutionalization may be seen as a mechanism for achieving cohesion and continuity and a natural outcome of group concerns; however, it may also detract from collective goals. Piven and Cloward (1977) argue that such institutionalization is in itself the cause of the decline in effectiveness of lower-class movements. They consider that the very act of creating organizations channels energies away from issues and political action and to organizational maintenance. This view is not unlike Kornhauser's analysis, taken from a different perspective. Kornhauser encourages the development of organizations in order to maintain stability; the process reduces mass movements and potential violence. He observes that organizations can defuse opposition (Kornhauser, 1959).

Lower-class organizations must be primarily oriented to collective goals and collective strength. Their survival hinges on providing access to a group of people who, as individuals, do not have access. The exclusion of their members from the political system requires that organizational goals include change in the system to achieve a redistribution of power. Satisfaction of individual needs are often, in fact, in conflict with these collective goals, particularly for the least powerful organizations.

Although our research over the two-year period was directed at traditional measures of effectiveness, it was open-ended enough to allow us to formulate other criteria for appraising the efforts of these organizations. Throughout the study we have been impressed by the importance of class differences and the need to adjust the bases for evaluation accordingly.

Our research confirms that community organizations are class-bound, and that class differences are reflected in their behavior and in the power they can exercise. A methodology which structures research to treat lower-income organizations the same as middle-to-upper-income organizations, in evaluating their effectiveness and determining their shortcomings, necessarily undermines the purposes of lower-class organizations.

For lower-class groups, a narrow concept of organizational maintenance is dysfunctional. Lacking the essential resources for maintenance, efforts to sustain a traditional-style organization are too often in conflict with policy goals. Our findings on the pervasive shift in lower-income organizations from advocacy to strictly service functions show this. Dependence on external funding has placed serious restrictions on these organizations (see Chapter IV: Characteristics of Community Organization.) Flexibility in organization--the ability to go from a movement to a loosely structured organization back to a movement, and to use ad hoc organizations--is probably a more "effective" strategy than narrowly defined permanent goals for those who lack resources and power.

The demise of an organization does not have to be viewed as a failure. Success and failure should, in fact, be measured by effects. For lower-income, powerless people, numbers are the primary resource; the projection of group interests and demands on the system and the degree of change brought about thereby will determine effectiveness. In judging such community organizations, the ability to rally support around issues, to enhance collective strength, and ultimately to influence the distribution of benefits and resources are important measures.

This distinction in criteria for evaluation can be seen more clearly in reviewing Wilson's work (1973) on political organizations. In discussing the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Wilson concludes that SNCC demanded too much of its members and too much of society:

> CORE* and SNCC were redemptive associations relying on broadly stated purposes, the achievement of which required not only a general transformation of society, but also the exemplary conduct of members (p. 181).

Wilson argues that such demands doom an organization. He noted the impacts of SNCC and CORE on the civil rights movement in general and the NAACP in particular, but limits his comment to noting the call for more militant tactics. From our perspective this discussion repeats a naturalist fallacy: whatever is stable is good; whatever survives, is right. It also suggests that somehow it is bad policy for a group to want more than incremental changes in the society. Wilson maintains a neutral stance, claiming that he is only concerned with what promotes a group's stability. Wilson's systems approach narrows the analysis by establishing an organization's survival as a priority, relying on internal organization structure analysis to explain effectiveness and ignoring the impact of external forces on the organization. For lower-class groups organizational maintenance can be more broadly conceived; if maintaining an organization promotes group cohesion and goals, it is effective; if the organization survives but abandons its collective goals, and serves only individual needs, it may be ineffective.

Our definition of serving the interests of the constituent group follows Greenstone's and Peterson's modification (1973) of Pitkin's category of actual representation (1967). They argue that policies which improve the life chances of specific roles by increasing the wealth, power, and/or prestige associated with the role serve their role interests, whether or not the role incumbents are in favor of these policies. Thus, a policy which improved the life chances of the poor or the working class in general, or of a typical member of the group, would be in the interest of the group. An organization that promotes group cohesion in order to gain such policies would be serving the interests of the group.

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*Committee on Racial Equality

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

One of the fundamental problems we faced in this study of community organizations, especially because its emphasis was on minority (by definition, lower-income) organizations, was that the historical and traditional approach to the subject reflected some distinct biases. Traditional political organizations in urban America have been predominantly middle class in membership and orientation. Until very recently, all our knowledge and analysis of these groups has been based on that experience (Simpson, 1976).

The historical evidence confirmed the very limited participation of poor and working-class populations in civic organizations (Verba, 1961; Milbraith, 1965). The data on low levels of political participation, by lower-class populations, however, exclude participation in church and fraternal associations. Although trade union, church-related, fraternal organizations, and the local political party appear to have been the most important channels for lower- and-working-class associational participation, even these organizations provided only limited access to some groups, and as groups were only minimally concerned with community issues. Even in the church-related groups class and race distinctions were pervasive. Blacks, in particular, were denied trade union and political party membership--and these are the two organizations which, potentially, offered the greatest opportunity for promoting their interests.

It is likely that poor and working-class populations relied on local voluntary associations as well as church and fraternal organizations for self-help efforts and even to promote narrow political interests. The dearth of research on these organizations and the emphasis on middle-class organizations supports our view, however, that judgments about community organizations are based almost totally on the experience of middle-class organizations. Descriptions of organizational activity and research and theory about organizations is therefore necessarily biased by that experience.

The traditional civic-style organizations in cities can be characterized largely by their efforts to control the negative effects of lower-class behavior. Boyer's study of groups which were actively engaged in attempting to influence the character of city life from 1820-1920 (Boyer, 1978) is a detailed description of a succession of upper- and middle-class "reform" groups organized to exercise a controlling interest on the "moral and social development of the urban masses." The range of groups and their strategies, he points out, appear diverse; they were, in fact, quite narrow. Whether it was the Temperance and Bible societies of the early 19th century or the municipal reformers of the ante-bellum era, or the good government civic groups or the city planners of the 20th century, all saw their role as controlling the destructive impact of the urban masses on the city. Schattschneider (1960) confirms this class-bound characterization of organizations nationally in his description of the bias of associational activity in American politics:

> "The data raise a serious question about the validity of the proposition that special interest groups are a universal form of political organization reflecting *all* interests." (p. 34)... "The flaw in the pluralist heaven *is* that the heavenly chorus sings with strong upper-class accent." (p. 35)

Extensive research on participation verifies the comparatively minimal participation of the lower-income population in traditional political organizations. According to Greer, "Aside from church participation, most urban individuals belong to one organization at most... "Only in the upper socioeconomic levels is the 'joiner' to be found with any frequency," (Greer, 1963, p. 332).

Whether these conclusions reflect historical fact or a lack of sensitivity to the distinctive character of lower-class organizations is open to question. Historical evidence is lacking. Anthropological and historical research in other societies would suggest a strong tradition of voluntary associations among lower-class populations, and one would expect this to be true of ethnic and social groups in the United States. Myrdal's 1947 study of the black community in this nation is one of the few sources which emphasizes the importance of racially-based voluntary associations. The (black) church was the major institutional association for poor and working-class blacks; it was itself segregated by class, and not directly concerned with political or economic issues (DuBois, 1967). The fraternal associations, as Muraskin demonstrates in his study of freemasonry, were middle-class in their membership and their orientation. He concludes that these organizations tended to isolate, in fact, the black middle-class from lower-class needs and demands (Muraskin, 1975).

For the most part, our knowledge of lower-class organizations is based on contemporary history. Historically, we know the poor were reactive, often violent and more inclined to "movement strategies." They could not reasonably depend on institutionalization of their political values through political organizations. Their lack of resources precluded such an orientation and discouraged such efforts.

The historical distinction between "movements" and "organizations" relates specifically to permanence. Movements refer to the collective action of groups of people who seek to bring about social change; they are flexible in that they can change in size, structure, and strategy according to circumstances. The Fainsteins suggest, "A movement differs from more stable, routinized organizations in existing almost entirely through its activity rather than through a defined organization structure," (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1974, p. 239).*

THE CONTEMPORARY ERA

In the 1960s we have the first major effort to go beyond what Boyer

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*An argument can be made which suggests that movements are a form of community organization appropriate to certain goals and for particular groups.

describes as the "urban social control" organizations. In the 1950s struggle over urban renewal which displaced or sought to displace large segments of lower-income populations, there was recognized organization among lower-income groups (Rossi and Dentler, 1961; Hausneckt, 1962).

The activist character of the American politics in the 1960s is generally recognized. It was a decade of protest. The student antiwar, feminist, civil rights and minority grassroots movements challenged the structure and the distribution of power and benefits in the system. Demands centered on the political processes and the need to include in that process those groups that had been excluded. Community organizations were advocates of causes which grew out of these various movements. Poor and working-class populations were seeking an entree into the system at the same time that they were trying to change the distribution of power within the system. The pressure for access was a priority, participation became the byword.

The responses were in part real and in part subterfuge. The Federal Government admitted that the poor had been excluded, called for their participation, and developed programs to increase it.

These Great Society programs added a new dimension to urban community organization. The rationalization for the particular thrust of many of the "antipoverty" programs was the need for community organization. If the poor could be organized to exercise power in the system, they could then influence policy. As Moynihan so perceptively observed in his critical commentary on the concept of "maximum possible participation," it was an attempt by social engineers to allocate Federal resources to organize the poor so that they could pressure for the redistribution of power and challenge the existing local power structure (Moynihan, 1969).

In contrast, Mayor Daley of Chicago's response to the antipoverty programs verified the resistance this effort to bypass the existing city political structure would face. He succeeded in getting immediate revision of the Federal legislation to guarantee city control over the distribution of resources and assure maintenance of the system. Other commentators suggested the futility of seeking to organize powerless people to achieve a redistribution of power within the system. Nevertheless, the Alinsky model of organizing the poor to pursue their own interests through community action became an accepted principle of community organization. With the aid of foundation and Federal funding, the motivation for changing the low level of political participation and political organization of the poor took hold. The reformers of the 1960s directed their energies to community participation and organization as a means of winning for the poor access to the system. Given the lack of historical tradition, it is astounding that in so short a period of time so much activity developed and so many organizations grew in minority and lower-class neighborhoods.

THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS: ADVOCACY TO SERVICE

The study design included the selection of a sample of 16 community organizations in three cities, representing a cross-section of types, but emphasizing lower-income groups. The study concentrated on a set of external and internal variables thought to be significant influences on the behavior of community organizations. The three cities represented basic differences in regional politics; located in the South, the West and the Northeast. The organizations were to concentrate on neighborhood-based, lower-income, self-initiated, school-issue-oriented types, but included, for comparative purposes, a sampling of multi-issue, citywide, middle-income and mandated organizations.

We devoted great effort to selecting the most active school-oriented groups in each city.* Although we have identified some problems in the implementation process and the final selection of organizations (see Appendix C, Community Organization Profiles), we must assume that the results produced a reliable group of organizations which met our criteria. This is significant; with all our plans to ensure variety in the types of organizations, certain unplanned patterns emerged which indicated fundamental shifts in the character and role of community organizations. Significantly, we found that although we chose what were described to us as "politically active groups," the large majority of the 16 organizations were, in fact, service oriented. Many of these groups had undergone a change in strategy from advocacy to service. This was true not only of the school-issue-oriented organizations but also of the multipurpose groups. Perlman (1976) observed this trend away from advocacy to service in her national study of community organizations. Our work verifies this conclusion. Another unplanned result of the selection process was the large number of multipurpose organizations included in the final sample of organizations. This reflected the growing movement toward community development and away from single-issue orientation of community organizations.

Participants in lower-class organizations explained the shift away from advocacy and political action to a service role as the result of two problems: inability to sustain long-term advocacy efforts which required major investments of time by large numbers of people, and inability to secure financial support to maintain an organization's structure.

In an interview, a longtime school activist described the frustration of five or six years of organized pressure on the LAUSD to respond to the basic needs of the minority community.

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*By design at least one mandated group was to be selected in each city. In two cities mandated groups were cited as most important.

"We all got tired of the constant battle, we needed a rest. We will be back." To sustain advocacy momentum requires a confrontational strategy and the kind of leadership and organization which can rally support around broad issues. Efforts to build or tighten organization structure or provide individual incentives were often in conflict with these ends.

It is most significant that all the middle-income organizations in the study continue to be predominantly advocacy orientated and, as is demonstrated in the study, decisionmakers and the other organizations in each city perceive them to be the most effective organizations. The expansion of service organizations can be traced directly to increased Federal, State and local funding for the services they provided. Many organizations rationalized these new service roles as the only means for maintaining their organizations. In some cases, they argued that these services were important to the community and could provide alternatives to the school system services.

The common characteristics of service organizations--their emphasis on external funding as a basis for maintenance, their individual orientation and their disavowal of advocacy--are significant. Leadership in these organizations is constant (nonalternating) and is generally characterized by paid professional staff. Staff meetings are conducted regularly but membership meetings take place only once or twice a year (see Chapter IV: Characteristics of Community Organizations). Many of these organizations do not view clients as members; the setting of priorities and goals is a staff function. As our research shows, this fundamental change from advocacy to service has greatly affected the character of community organizations and their role in school politics.

Mandating Community Organizations

As we have suggested, in each of the cities there is a subdued tone to school politics as a result of the shift to service organizations. The increased number of mandated organizations in each city has further enhanced this. Federal, State and school district policies have encouraged the creation of mandated parent organizations which function in an advisory capacity to the school system. Although mandating regulations call for systemwide committees at the school level in a variety of programs, the major emphasis is on involving lower-income schools (e.g.; Educational and Secondary Education Act, Title I). Mandated organizations have become more pervasive on the local level in several functional areas--planning, health, and education, in particular. Our findings about these mandated organizations are, therefore, particularly noteworthy. The 16 organizations in the study included a court-mandated school organization and a mandated housing organization in Boston, State- and district-mandated school organizations in Los Angeles, and a mandated multipurpose, local planning organization in Atlanta. All are lower-income organizations.

We could assume that mandated organizations have the singular advantage of not having to be concerned with maintenance. An argument for creating mandated groups has been that lower-class communities are not represented in the spectrum of local organizations because they cannot afford to maintain their own organizations. Our research indicates, however, that mandated organizations spend as much time on maintenance functions as do other kinds of organizations. More important, the mandated organizations in our study have certain functions prescribed and others proscribed by the agencies which created them. They have made no effort to extend their experience or involvement to the larger community.

Important too is the finding that these organizations tend to have limited networks; their contacts with other lower-income organizations (particularly self-initiated organizations) are virtually nonexistent. To the extent that these groups have networks, these are vertical, within the system, and confined to people in official positions--their designated contacts under the provisions of their mandate. Often the funding agencies initiate these contacts. Our research suggests that the school system, as well as other local governmental agencies, have come to depend upon mandated groups as the sole representatives of lower-income interests. They perceive these organizations to be the legitimate representatives of the community. In our interviews with decisionmakers, in almost every case they named the mandated organizations as the most important community organizations. Their contacts were almost totally limited to those organizations.

The creators of the mandated groups not only control their actions; they determine the system of representation and often select the members and even the leaders of these organizations. Our survey data found the leaders and members of these organizations (compared to advocacy and service organizations) to be the least policy oriented. The findings validate the limited research on parent advocacy councils constituted under ESEA Title I and other Federal programs. This research generally concluded that these organizations have either not been functioning or are only selectively active. At best, these organizations are performing the functions intended by those who organized them. They work within the system; they restrict their activity to those tasks outlined for them; and they provide a means of contact between school officials and groups of lower-income parents.

The policy implications of these findings are most significant. They challenge the stated goals of these programs--to provide a citizenship training ground for a broad cross section of lower-income community people, and a mechanism for developing policy responsive to lower-income community needs by engaging them in the policy process. The fundamental change in character of community organization, especially lower-class organizations, namely the shift from advocacy to service and the increasing number of mandated organizations, raises some serious questions if community organizations are considered to be a vital mechanism for lower-income groups to gain access to the political system.

In earlier studies by the author the city political culture proved to be a major influence on school politics and it was hypothesized in this study that the same would be true. In fact, we found that the pervasive influence of Federal policy in mandating school organizations and funding service functions greatly diminished the importance of the city and/or the school system. Community organizations' activities and structure were more a product of these policies than of any practices established locally. The common attributes of the three cities in distribution of economic resources, the maintenance of an underclass population, and the limited access to professionalized and centralized decisionmaking contributed to the general ineffectiveness of lower-income organizations. But the Federal policies were a more direct influence on the shift from advocacy to service and mandated structures and strategies. This would confirm general concerns that Federal policies limit the role of regional, state and local politics in important aspects of school policymaking.

The Shifting Emphasis: The Implications for Leadership and Membership

The observation of contemporary researchers that the activist groups of the 1960s evolved into the service groups of the 1970s reflects more than a simple redirection. Its implications are fundamental. Lower income-organizations have moved from internal to external dependence. External dependency works to undermine purposive incentives of community organizations and the initiation of collective social policy goals. The dearth of self-initiated organizations coping with school policy issues and the redirection of lower-income organizations to external dependence can explain the reasons for reduced membership, loss of ability to sustain community support, and the evolution of highly individualized leadership styles in the organizations.

Our analysis of leadership indicated distinctive patterns which reflect the changes in organization strategies and which, in turn, influence organizational effectiveness. The externally-dependent organizations, mandated and service organizations, rely on imposed or staff leadership. The organizations are totally dependent on their leaders: without them the survival of the organization is questionable. Internally-dependent organizations are less reliant on their leaders and the leadership tends to be constant or rotating. Middle-class organizations more often have rotating leadership and are more likely to be advocacy oriented.

For lower-income organizations, the strong dependence on external support and on staff and imposed leadership contradicts their purpose and needs. Leadership in these organizations should reflect the strong need for purposive goals. Developing collective responsibilities and a variety of roles for participants, building internal democracy, training new and multiple leadership is a prerequisite to such goals. Strategies which move toward adjustment and change in the larger political system must be given direction by leadership in lower-income organizations. Earlier research findings show that lower-income organizations gained increased support and membership from political action, particularly in crisis situations (Lipsky, 1973). Issues, not individual gains, are the lifeblood of lower-income organizations. Although the charismatic leader is generally viewed as more essential to lower-income organizations, strong individual leadership can be dysfunctional to the groups' concerns. Diversified leadership, the sharing of roles, and the process of involvement are more functional in enhancing the collective goals of lower-income organizations. The democratic process is more likely to support organization maintenance over a period of time, particularly where material incentives are lacking. In contrast, our findings suggest that these organizations lack internal democracy and are more dependent on their leaders. They accept hierarchical structures as superior; they emulate traditional organization structure.

All of the lower-income organizations in the study spend an inordinate amount of time on maintenance issues. For lower-income organizations that seek to train a spectrum of leaders and involve a variety of members, loose structure may, in fact, be more appropriate. It may be more productive to their ends to place strong emphasis on involving membership in developing strategies, in choosing priority issues and in establishing group goals. Shared roles can undermine the individual benefits of office holding; furthermore, stress on committee action is more conducive to a collective orientation and purposive incentives.

Ellis (1969) in his evaluation of Chicago's West Side Organization (WSO), concludes that its special qualities were flexibility, unstructured organization, and lack of emphasis on detail. Ellis despairs of the traditional criteria for community organization, which suggest the ghetto communities are not organized. He says, "But in reality all ghetto communities are already organized, and anyone who would start a basic effort to build a new political organization... is engaged in community reorganization," (p.141). The neighborhood acceptance of the leaders of the WSO (all previously "successful" criminal offenders) because of their status in the community and their understanding of community needs and development of special programs, were the characteristics of this lower-income organization which most impressed Ellis.

The quality of membership and leadership is intricately tied to the strategy of a community organization. The service, advocacy and advisory strategies produce different styles of leadership. Service organizations are best served by professional leadership and small membership; mandated groups recruit leaders acceptable to the system. In the mixed strategy organizations included in the study, which combine service with advocacy, we discern potential conflict in leadership needs, but also some strengths for achieving effectiveness.

Four of the organizations in the study combine service with advocacy. Our findings show that the service strategy in most of these mixed organizations becomes all pervasive. The quest for funds and maintenance detracts from the energies and commitment required for advocacy. In some instances, advocacy may require confrontation with the sources of funding. A conflict of incentives is also evident in the two strategies. Service organizations are built largely upon individual incentives, upon direct benefits in the form of the service itself and related jobs. Advocacy relies on purposive incentives and the satisfaction gained from the setting and accomplishment of group goals. The provision of individual services under certain circumstances may even be in conflict with group goals (e.g., where advocacy groups are seeking to abolish tracking systems in schools, service organizations may be negotiating a "better" track for individual clients).* The maintenance function in itself may be in conflict with the larger policy orientation of an advocacy strategy. In addition to the time and resources spent on maintenance (which detract from policy issues), the need for flexibility and broadened membership may require a looser structure and even periodic dissolution into a movement rather than institutionalization and preservation as an organization.

Perhaps the area in which the major divergence of interest is evident is in the type of leadership most appropriate to each strategy. We have observed that service organizations rely on professional staff as leaders. These people are most knowledgeable about fund raising and delivery of services. They excel in external contacts but have little experience with building the kind of support necessary for advocacy. Traditional pressure-group theory suggests, on the contrary, that rotation of leadership would tend to decrease group cohesiveness and that this quality is not a significant contribution to effectiveness (Truman, 1951). Our research suggests that the strongest organizations are those with rotating leadership.

Long-term or constant leadership works well for service and advocacy groups. The Association of Community Organization for Reform Now (ACORN) is one of the most successful mixed advocacy-service community organizations in the country. Wade Rathke can certainly be described as a professional (community organizer) and charismatic leader who has retained a leadership role over a long period of time. He has strongly emphasized his constant concern with advocacy, broader social issues, and the redistribution of power. In a recent conference on neighborhood organizations in New York City, he argued strenuously that these goals cannot be sacrificed to the service role. His commitments to building membership and resources inside the organization to avoid external dependency are compelling. Membership dues therefore continue to be the major source of funding for ACORN chapters. A priority of the organization is the training of leadership in the local ACORN chapters. Internal democracy is a stated goal, if not an actual fact.

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*In a recent article, Piven and Cloward (1979) point out the kinds of conflicts evident in many of these organizations.

Wellstone's case study (1978) and commentary on the rise and fall of a lower-class rural advocacy community organization in Minnesota is also instructive in this regard. He concludes that the failure to build internal democracy and train new leadership led to the ultimate decline of a highly successful organization. "If community people are to run the organization, from leadership to organizing positions, there should be a pool of leaders and organizers ready to take command." (p.191). Wellstone stresses the fact that to be sustained over a period of time, advocacy requires new issues and momentum. Shared responsibility and the training of several leaders can ensure that these goals are fulfilled.

Internal Democracy

None of the organizations in our study, and most of those studied by other researchers, appear to place a priority on internal democracy (Perlman, 1976, Kotler, 1979, Cunningham, 1978). Michels (1966) and other natural systems theorists would deny the possibility that internal democracy can be achieved and maintained in these organizations. Our findings indicate that the organizations which are internally dependent and advocacy oriented tend to rely heavily on committees and rotating leadership and can be described as comparatively more democratic (see Chapter IV).

Other experiences that suggest the importance of building internal democracy in an organization are somewhat limited. A segment of the feminist movement stresses this approach and refuses to establish hierarchical structures (McWilliams, Farrell in Jacquette, 1974). McWilliams points out that organizations must be distinguished from movement and that antihierarchical attitudes stunt political action. She recommends that internal democracy can be attained by alternating leadership and shared responsibility. This guarantees the training of a number of leaders without sacrificing political goals. It would seem that lower-class organizations may have some of the same interests and needs as the feminist movement; the concept of internal democracy is important to both.

The conflict between the style of leadership which has emerged as pervasive in lower-class organizations and that which is most appropriate to their needs must be reconciled. Wellstone (1978) argues for shared leadership and interchangeable roles as a protective strategy and also as an essential process in fulfilling the responsiblility of training membership and achieving effectiveness. Professional and imposed leadership cannot be easily adjusted to an emphasis on internal democracy. It is more concerned with maintaining the organization for its own sake and eschews the importance of membership, or more particularly the training of membership, as a priority goal of the organization. This explains the lack of attention to this matter in most of the organizations in the study, and may also explain why these organizations have failed to sustain membership participation and support.

Community Development Organizations

Although this study was directed largely at single-issue-oriented organizations (with school policy as the issue), we found in our research that the multi-issue community-development organization has become the most active form of community organization. This is confirmed by other research on neighborhood organizations (Perlman, 1976; Mollenkoff, 1978). These organizations do not consider schools a priority issue. Housing, local economic development and jobs are their major concerns. This is probably related to Federal funding in these areas, but also reflects a desire to avoid the controversy which surrounds school desegregation.

Although these organizations perform service functions and are in part externally dependent on funding, they often maintain separate and independent advocacy structures. Their reliance on external support is diversified; they are not dependent on a single source of funding. Their networks are broader than those of any other groups and they are viewed as more effective by decisionmakers (see Chapter V: Networking and Organizational Effectiveness).

There seems to be little doubt that these self-initiated, multi-functional community-development organizations are the more viable community organizations, and the most likely to expand in the future. Their service strategy is built on constructing alternative systems; they continue to support advocacy as a necessity, although at different levels. Their lack of interest in or uninvolvement with school issues is therefore disheartening. In interviews with several of the leaders of these organizations we questioned whether they would be attracted to school issues as an integral part of community development. All of them indicated that there was a developing interest in education and school issues in their organizations. Our research suggests that these organizations are the most likely to offer the kind of leadership and support necessary for more representative expression of lower-class interests in school policy.

If participation of lower-income populations in school policymaking is indeed a goal of community organization, these organizations have already established their strength and experience in other areas. The government policies which mandate a multiplicity of "controlled" organizations to advise school professionals on the other hand, are not fulfilling the goals of participation. An alternative policy of support and encouragement for these broader-based and more independent community-development organizations to participate in school policymaking or to address school issues would appear to be more constructive.

Summary

In large part the data collected and the analysis which follows illustrate the generally moribund circumstances of school-issue organizations in three large cities. Although our sample of cities and organizations is small by some standards, it does provide sufficient evidence to warrant concern. These circumstances, after all, reflect the output of government policies which were intended to encourage citizen organization and participation in school affairs. The verbal support for citizen participation in education has probably been more extensive than for participation in anything else in the society. The statutory backup has been equally extensive. Some will see the results of this study as a further indication that lower-class populations are at best nonparticipating; at worst, incapable of participation. We believe that democracy requires the participation of lower-class populations and that community organizations are the best means for them to achieve that participation. This requires more, not less, attention to the elements which will make these organizations more effective. Our research provides some insights into how this can be done.

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II.

RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The Request for Proposal

The Request for Proposal (RFP) issued by the National Institute of Education (NIE) in 1976, called for a research design to prepare documentation of the behavior of organizations. The case studies were to "...yield many practical examples of techniques, strategies, and procedures that might help school staffs and community people reach their objectives," (this and the cited passages following are from the NIE RFP). The research plan was to examine the key educational issues and problems, the important actions, "...the political, economic and social forces which influence the nature of participation"; and the internal elements of the organizations themselves, including ideology, strategies and goals, internal communication, access to decisionmakers and information, and resource utilization.

The comparative aspect of the project was "...to go beyond the description and narratives" in the case studies. The outcome was to include "...explanations which may suggest to community organizations and policymakers feasible alternatives for developing effective participation strategies." Included in this outcome was an analysis of the characteristics of organizations which might be related to effectiveness, the importance of environmental variables, and a conclusion as to an operational definition of effective citizen action to serve as the dependent variable.

The network research was intended "...to increase the access of citizen-initiated organizations to useful information about school policies and practices and to strengthen the capacity of these organizations to use information in ways that increase their effectiveness." The networking concept that NIE was seeking to use is one "...of tying together and strengthening the informal patterns of communication and interaction among citizen-initiated groups..." The importance of this component was based on NIE's view that networking could contribute to organizational effectiveness.

The RFP contained a number of other elements, but these three constituted the basic elements of the research effort.

Research Design

The researchers' responses to the RFP included a number of important elements. First, the responses indicated that, in our view, this was a study of organizational behavior. While the RFP contained elements of a study both of community organizations and of citizen participation, our proposal focused on organizations and the ability of organizations to exert influence in policy development and implementation.

The second element of the proposal was the conceptualization and operationalization of the dependent variable, effectiveness. Our conception of effectiveness related to the ability of organizations to influence policy in major policy areas. Rather than accepting participation in any single area, we identified three areas which primarily influence educational outcomes: impact on policy; the analysis of organizational activity around these policy areas; and the organization's ability to meet its own goals. These were the central elements in the research report.

It was determined that any study of the effectiveness of community organizations in education, although complex in the factors to be considered, is best organized in a simple input-output model, including the following major variables:

External Organization Characteristics

- structure of the city and the schools
- socioeconomic characteristics of the city
- a historical perspective on participation in the city, and
- existence of alternate participatory structures

Organizational Characteristics

- structural characteristics
- participation and membership characteristics
- representativeness and leadership

These areas were treated as the independent variables. The dependent variable was effectiveness:

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Effectiveness, An Organization's:

- achievement of its own goals
- impact on policy, budget, personnel and curriculum
- impact on participants and constituents
- impact on the community
- access to information and expertise
- communication and contact with decisionmakers
- relationships with other organizations
- ability to develop and use networks

This initial formulation persisted as the basic outline of the study. The research has resulted in increased emphasis on some variables such as membership and leadership, and decreased emphasis on others, such as the organization's impact on the community.

One major addition to the research design should be noted. As the research progressed, we recognized that evaluating the organizations in terms of their impact on budget, personnel, and curriculum would not be a sufficient measure of their involvement with policy issues. Therefore, we asked the site research teams to determine the three major policy issues confronting the school system in their city. These issues would then be added to those listed above as the areas of performance to be used in evaluating policy impact. The issues identified by the sites were:

Atlanta	● educational outcomes ● declining enrollment ● desegregation
Boston	● school safety ● selection of school superintendent ● desegregation
Los Angeles	● Proposition 13 ● collective bargaining (Rodda Act) ● desegregation

An assumption in allowing the sites to identify the major policy issues was that they would choose the issues in which their organizations were involved. This would provide a measure of the organizations most direct and active participation in terms of policy issues.

General Research Goals and Purposes

The primary goals for the research project fell into three categories: research in community organization behavior; the development of policy recommendations to the government regarding citizen participation in educational decisionmaking; and individual goals for participants.

One purpose of the project was to conduct research on community organizations which went beyond the research currently available. As the RFP noted, "...much of the empirical research on community organizations done thus far either looks at the characteristics and effects of a particular type of organization at many locations (e.g., Title I Advisory Committees), or looks at many types in one setting as they interact around a particular issue (e.g., decentralization in New York City)." This recognition of the limitations of previous community-organization research suggested a design which provided for a comparative study, in three cities, of approximately 16, including a range of organizational characteristics.

The study was designed to be comparative, both across cities and types of organizations. The conclusions stressed those elements which influenced the relative effectiveness of the community organizations. The comparative analysis of the organizations centered on the identification of characteristics which determined effectiveness. Our focus was on community organizations in minority communities. Their problems of lack of access to policymakers and ability to influence policy were indicated to be of particular interest. The RFP, in fact, required that the sites to be chosen for the comparative research have a population of at least 500,000 and a school population containing at least 40 percent minority students. Therefore our initial review of American cities focused on only 20 cities.

One of the specific characteristics of organization behavior that we wished to examine or explore in the research effort was the question of organizational networking. We postulated that one of the ways that citizen-initiated organizations could increase their effectiveness was through informal networks designed to increase their information flow and their contacts with other organizations.

RESEARCH STRATEGIES

Data Collection Procedures

The design of a comparative study of organizations in three cities required that we adopt a standardized strategy for conducting the field research which ensured comparability of data. To ensure that we could develop a full analysis of the community organizations' activities, we decided to use a range of different research procedures. These procedures, in addition to providing information on various aspects of the organizations and school systems, would provide the opportunity to cross check sources to verify the perceptions of individuals both inside and outside the organizations.

Organizational Data Sources

Membership and Leadership Questionnaires

Two sets of questionnaires were developed for use in studying the participating organizations; membership and leadership. In the development of these instruments, other questionnaires which have been used in community organization studies (e.g., Urban Observatory studies, tenant questionnaires) were reviewed and elements from them adapted to meet the needs of this study.

The purpose of the questionnaires was to gather information in two major areas: the operation of the organization and the characteristics of the individual organization members. The information on organizational functioning included the basic goals of the organization and the individual's perception of the effectiveness in meeting those goals; questions on the relations between the organization and the school system, the internal functioning of the organization, including the questions of internal democracy and leadership, political activities and networking. Personal characteristics included age, sex, income, number of children, etc. The questionnaire responses were aggregated by organization and are presented in full in Appendix E: Questionnaire Data.

The organizations were informed prior to the start of the research that these two instruments would be used during the course of the study. The central staff initially established the guidelines for the identification of the respondents, including the number of respondents, with the specific decisions made by the site staffs. Even with this preparation, problems arose. Two organizations, having agreed at the outset to respond to the instruments, later withdrew their permission. Other organizations did not oppose the instruments but did not encourage their members to respond and for those organizations we have a minimal number of responses.

Two additional points should be noted regarding the different types of organizations participating in the study. First, since a number of participating organizations did not have formal membership but rather clients, questions arose as to who to survey as members. The researchers, in consultation with the central research staff, decided that in such cases the closest approximation would be to survey staff members. While this approach presented some problems, it did allow us to fulfill our prime purpose: gathering information on the functioning of the organization. The second problem related to mandated organizations. Because of membership by elections, one mandated organization viewed itself as all "leaders." Consequently, when asked to identify respondents to the leadership questionnaires, all the organization members were identified while other individuals, outside the organization but within the geographic base of the organization, were surveyed as organizational members.

- Organizational Leader Interviews.
  The research design called for the interviews to be conducted three times over the course of the project, using similar questions. The panel analysis allowed us to identify changes in the organizations' activities and in their perceptions of the major issues confronting the school system. Second, a number of questions were designed to generate information on those variables identified as important to organizational effectiveness (e.g., access to information, meetings between organizational leaders and decisionmakers). The instrument also focused on the question of networking and relationships between groups.

  The process of identifying the organizational leaders to be interviewed was concluded in the field sites. Each site researcher met informally with the leaders of their organization to recommend two or three leaders. These recommendations were received by the site coordinator and then forwarded to the central office for final review and approval (see Appendix F: Interview Data, for a full discussion of the interview procedure and a presentation of the results).

- Organizational Meeting Observations.
  This activity was the responsibility of the community researchers. The researcher attended organizational meetings and supplied a report based on a form developed by the central research team. This form included items such as attendance, issues raised, and action taken. Additionally, each researcher was asked to supply his or her own impressions of the meetings and include them in subsequent reports.

The most significant problem that developed in this process related to the issue of nonmembership organizations. As with the questionnaires, organizations which had no formal membership could not utilize the meeting observation form. It was decided that, in place of reporting on membership meetings, reports would be supplied on staff meetings, or summaries of staff meetings would be prepared (in one organization, the staff meets daily). These reports provided the basic information for the analysis of the activities in the organizational meetings.

- Organizational Documents
  The site researchers prepared a history of his or her own organization. Additionally, the researchers provided the central office with copies of documents such as bylaws, previous meetings and goal statements. These became part of the file on each organization. The purpose of these activities was to get as clear a picture as possible of the reasons for the formation of the organization, its goals and strategies, and the prime issues with which the organization had been involved. This historical review served as the foundation for the analysis of current organizational activities. It also served as the basis for the organization profiles which can be found in Appendix C: Community Organization Profiles.

Local School System Data Sources

- School Board Meetings
  As with the organizational meetings, an observation form was developed for utilization at school board meetings. Early in the project the site coordinators and the research director agreed on which meetings of the school board or subcommittees would be regularly reported on. Periodic reports, using the observation form, were forwarded to the central research office and serve as a source of information in the chapter on school system practices. The reports included items on the issues dealt with and organizational attendance and participation in the meeting.

- Decisionmaker Interviews
  The decisionmaker interviews were structured in the same manner as the organizational leadership interviews. The purpose of interviewing these respondents

was to establish a different perspective on the major issues confronting the school system and to provide a comparison with the major issues identified by the organizational leaders. The instrument also contained a question to which the responses were used as the basis for a reputational analysis of effective organizations to help evaluate the decisionmakers' perceptions about those organizations participating in the study, and also other organizations.

In order to identify the decisionmakers to be interviewed, the site coordinators met with their staffs to discuss their opinions and their organizations' opinions as to who were the most influential individuals in school policymaking. These lists were discussed and compared and a final determination reached by the site staff as to those decisionmakers to be interviewed in the study. Most of the individuals were within the school system, although a number were in the city or State government or business community. A full description of the interviews can be found in Appendix F: Interview Data.

Other Data Sources

- Media Review
  One of the important potential methods by which organizations can receive information as well as project their point of view is through the media. Each site regularly monitored the major media sources and filed media reports. These reports focused on the major education issues raised and any coverage of community organizations. The media reports have been used through item analysis to examine the issue agendas of the various organizations as well as school system actions.

- Site Coordinators' Journals
  A major data source was a series of journals prepared by the site coordinators. The previously described data sources are largely instruments in report form. The journals allowed the coordinators to comment freely on the functioning of the school system and community organizations, raising issues that might not be dealt with elsewhere.

- Special Research Reports
  Finally, the site researchers were asked to provide

information on a number of issues related to the school system and city. They prepared neighborhood profiles, reports on the backgrounds of elected and appointed officials and special reports on their organizations (e.g., internal democracy).

In addition to the research procedures conducted by the field site coordinators, researchers from the central office made regular and periodic visits to the sites. The purpose of these visits was to put the central research staff in closer touch with the site activities. During these visits the central staff researchers sat in on interviews with decisionmakers, met with organizational leaders, and worked with the site researchers.

The use of these varied data sources was based on the concept of allowing local researchers to report on the activities of their cities and organizations. The most important aspect of the concept is the use of participant observers to generate the information in the participating organizations.

Participant Observation

In order to analyze the behavior of 16 organizations in three cities, it was necessary to use a research strategy which would place the organizations in their own context. Two options were available; either to develop research teams which would be sent into the sites, or to hire local researchers in each city and uniformly train them.

Our decision to use a field research approach, involving community organization members as researchers, was based on our expectation that organizations would be reluctant to be studied by outsiders and we would face considerable difficulty in gathering data and conducting interviews. Outside teams also lacked knowledge of the city and its various communities; it would take time to orient external researchers to local politics. Our commitment to citizen participation further encouraged us to use the study to train community organization members in research techniques and analysis which would be useful to them and their organizations after the study was completed.

The development of the field sites was the first step in pursuing this research strategy. The second was the extensive use of participant observation. The researchers involved in developing the research design had used this methodology in a number of different settings and, while recognizing the deficiencies entailed in the process, determined that its positive aspects of access to the organization outweighed the negative ones.

The study relied on researchers from within each organization, chosen by the organization itself, with the concurrence of the site coordinators. This approach allowed access to individuals who had been active participants in the organization and who might not have been available to outside researchers. As organizational members, the participant observers had extensive knowledge of the internal functioning of the organization, knowledge which was an important part of the research on organizational behavior. Finally, the use of organization members allowed for freer implementation of the various research procedures such as questionnaires and interviews; some of these might have been rejected if attempted by outside researchers.

The drawbacks to using researchers from the organizations derive from their protective concern for the organizations. As members, they generally held positive views of the organizations' effectiveness and ability to represent the communities. In cases where the organizations were undergoing significant change, the researchers played an especially protective role, attempting to shield the organizations from outside observers. Additionally, in choosing researchers, previous research experience was not considered as a criterion, and the research training that occurred during the project took on a special significance (see Appendix D: Research Methods and Procedures: An Afterword, for a fuller discussion of these issues).

THE SELECTION PROCESS: CITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

A National Survey of Community Organizations

The first research activity of the project was a national survey of citizen participation in education. The survey included over 300 open-ended interviews conducted in 12 cities chosen in keeping with NIE's requirements and because of a history of active community organizations.* The purpose of this survey was to update the bibliographic research conducted as part of the proposal preparation process, and to identify the major trends in community organization behavior as well as the major issues confronting urban school systems. The information gathered during this process was to refine the research design and to serve as the basis for the site and organizational selection processes.

In preparation for the field visits a number of secondary research efforts were undertaken. Census data were gathered in the 20 cities which met NIE requirements for involvement in the project. Previous materials and study articles on each of the cities were gathered and served as the basis for our decision on the selection of the three cities to be included in the field study.

For each field visit, appointments for interviews were arranged in advance, generally by a local researcher, with key decisionmakers in the school system, in the city government, in the business community and with community organization representatives. Telephone calls and initial surveys of school activities produced the names for these appointments. Interviews were conducted with educational reporters, teachers' union representatives, and with community organizational leaders. This broad spectrum of interviews was used by the research team to identify (1) the major issues confronting the school system, and (2) the most active community organizations. By focusing the interview primarily on organizational activity, we were able to develop a sense of the overall level and nature of organizational behavior in each city and the general character of school-system politics.

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*A full list of interviewees can be obtained from the Institute for Responsive Education.

One of the overriding considerations which emerged from the interviews was the increasing importance of mandated parent advisory councils in every city we visited. In each site we observed that considerable parent activity was channeled through Federal, State or local mandated groups. While our study was designed to concentrate on voluntary organizations, it became apparent that the design could not ignore the mandated school organizations that had developed since the 1960s. We decided to include a mandated organization of some type in each city, to determine their relative effectiveness as measured against self-initiated organizations and, in addition, to look at their influence on the level of voluntary activity.

The interviews also suggested the increased importance of the State in local school politics--an element neglected in our research design. Interviews in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento indicated a high level of State involvement in the local school district as contrasted with interviews in Atlanta and Houston, where State authorities appeared relatively removed from the local district. This finding became an element in our site selection process. We determined, if possible, to include States with differing education policy approaches.

Site Selection

The Task I field visits and extensive contacts with individuals active in community organizations and school politics provided information that served as the base for the selection of the three city field sites. Census data provided insights into the characteristics of the populations and their relative economic circumstances. All of our cities were losing white student population and had experienced some level of decline as measured by economic indicators. Initial discussions focused on the importance of regional differences in political and organizational behavior and the State role in education. With only three cities to be chosen, each city had to include distinctive characteristics from which we might be able to generalize for others with similar attributes. The sites selected were Atlanta, Boston, and Los Angeles.

Atlanta

Our selection of Atlanta primarily reflected the importance of the development of black electoral politics. In the 1970s, blacks in Atlanta played an increasingly strong role in city and school electoral politics. As a result, they held many top elected and appointed positions including those of mayor, president of the school board, and school superintendent. As the Urban Observatory Report* noted, there was not a strong tradition of community organization in the city. The black church and social organizations were important sources of activity. Atlanta was in the forefront of developments which could, however, portend the future of other large southern cities. Its national image was of a revitalized community with an active black middle-class population that had emerged as an important source of power in the city. Atlanta represented a major southern city which seemed to have moved into a new political phase. It answered our need for a regional representative of southern politics, and at the same time gave us the opportunity to test the impact of activist black politics. The State seemed to be disinterested in the Atlanta school system and allowed it to make its own way. Atlanta, unlike our other two cities, is a largely black city, with little diversity in its population.

The selection of Atlanta allowed us to pursue two important related research issues: the impact of the historical lack of community-based organization activity on organization effectiveness and the influence of increased black electoral activity on the base. Our site visits indicated that a number of organizations did exist and several were directed at school policy issues. A compromise plan had brought about resolution of the desegregation controversy, but there continued to be interest in other approaches. Although black professionals now controlled the school bureaucracy and staff, there were continuing problems regarding the quality of education and school governance. The new superintendent, we were told, was committed to decentralization and increased participation.

Boston

Throughout the initial visits, the one issue that confronted school systems nationally, and which respondents viewed as primary, was desegregation. School systems were either preparing for desegregation, in the process of desegregating, or had completed their plan and were evaluating their efforts. The importance of desegregation as an issue to community organizations, and the fact that new organizations developed to support or oppose desegregation efforts, indicated that the study would have to include a site where the desegregation plan in process could be analyzed. This was the prime reason for selecting Boston. Nowhere in the country has the desegregation process received so much attention. The difficulty in implementing a desegregation plan and the recalcitrance of the School Department resulted in direct intervention of the Federal courts. One of the aspects of the court-ordered plan was the development of an extensive system of mandated citizen groups.

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Furthermore, our emphasis on regional distinctions dictated that we select a northeastern city which would serve as a basis for comparison with other eastern and some midwestern cities. The State role in desegregation had preceded Federal Court action with passage in 1965 of the Racial Imbalance Act, and the Massachusetts Commissioner of Education had expressed a direct interest in Boston school district outcomes.

Boston was an older city with economic problems. Although a large section of its downtown had been rebuilt, its schools were losing students. The diversity of population was typical of a northeastern city, with a historical tradition of patrician control. The large Irish Catholic population was distinctive and the party structure and official government leadership represented that fact. Black and Hispanic populations were becoming increasingly more important, particularly in the schools.

Los Angeles

The selection of Los Angeles was based on five major factors. First, Los Angeles is a city with a high degree of ethnic diversity. Our initial visit indicated that the different communities used significantly different organizational arrangements, but community organization appeared to be a way of life.

Second, California had one of the strongest and most active State education departments and State legislatures. The State activity directly influenced both local school districts and individual schools. Sunshine laws, statewide goal-setting and the Rodda Act, which gives citizens access to the collective bargaining process, all influenced school politics in Los Angeles. Programs such as the Early Childhood Education Program involved the State directly with the local school. This strong State role would allow us to examine the ability of organizations to organize around statewide issues and the possibility of their influencing State-level decisionmaking.

The third reason was desegregation. The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) was in the process of developing and implementing its desegregation plan.

Fourth, Los Angeles presented an excellent site at which to examine mandated organizations. It had Federal, State and local mandated councils. The ties between such mandated groups and citizen-initiated organizations were important to the study.

Finally, the Los Angeles political climate with its populist tradition appeared conducive to citizen organization and participation. This tradition has resulted in broad-based involvement through both self-initiated and mandated structures. Our analysis of the behavior of community organizations in Los Angeles was intended to determine if this relatively high level of activity resulted in differences in the effectiveness of organizations.

The Selection of Community Organizations

Considerable time and effort were spent on establishing the criteria for selecting community organizations for the study. The researchers recognized that while 16 organizations was a large number to study intensively as part of the research effort, five or six organizations per site represented only a small sample of the range of organizations active in many American cities. In order to ensure that data would be available on as broad a range of organizational types as possible, the selection process was carefully planned.

To ensure replication of types of organizations in each city as a foundation for comparative analyses, we decided to select organizations in keeping with the following quota sample design:

one citywide organization
one mandated organization
one multipurpose organization
two low-income, neighborhood organizations, and
one middle-class organization

In some cases, the criteria overlapped (e.g., a citywide middle-class group), and one organization was used to cover more than one criterion. The distinction between self-initiated and mandated groups was especially significant. Differences in the ability of organizations to determine their own agendas and their contacts with other organizations and decisionmakers are key elements of the ability of the organizations to function effectively. The distinction between citywide and neighborhood-based organizations would, we hypothesized, influence the type of issues and activities the organizations engaged in and the ability of organizations to develop contacts with decisionmakers at the levels necessary to influence decisionmaking. The multipurpose vs. education-only distinction was originally intended to suggest differences in approach to education issues. It became increasingly important as the project developed. Multipurpose organizations were increasingly important in most cities as an organizational form. Finally, the distinction based on income was related to NIE's stated priority of increasing the ability of low-income communities to influence their local schools, as well as the school system as a whole.

During the early interviews, a variety of organization leaders were contacted to determine their interest in the study. Using this information and the typology, the researchers made preliminary decisions regarding organizations to be included in the study. As the quota design indicated, it was our intention to choose one multipurpose organization per site. We were often told that multipurpose organizations were involved in school issues or were on the verge of becoming involved, often through the establishment of an education committee. These reports resulted in our selecting a number of such organizations. In some cases we discovered after the study was underway that an organization was part of a larger multipurpose organization.

During this same period, the final process for the selection of the site coordinators in each city was completed. Each site coordinator was chosen because of his or her experience with community organizations in that city. A meeting was held with the researchers and the site coordinators made a number of additional suggestions which resulted in some changes in the categorization of specific organizations.

The focus then shifted to the sites, and a formal agreement was reached with each organization. The primary responsibility for this procedure rested with the field research coordinator and the three site coordinators. The agreement outlined the responsibilities of the organization to cooperate in the data-gathering process as well as providing for the employment of a community researcher from the organization, ensuring the confidentiality of the organization, and its ability to review drafts of the reports and present written reports where there were disagreements. At this stage, two organizations declined to participate in the project and new organizations were selected. In Boston and Atlanta, well-recognized middle-class black organizations selected for study refused to participate.

By September 1977, agreements had been reached with 15 of the 16 organizations (the remaining agreement was reached two months later) which would participate in the study. Each organization (with few exceptions), with the concurrence of the site coordinator and the field research coordinator, identified an individual who would serve as the community-organization researcher and be primarily responsible for the conduct of the data-gathering activities for that organization.

In order to identify lower-income organizations actively involved in education issues, we used a three-step approach. Initial interviews with local activists and school system decisionmakers, were followed by visits to the sites by the Field Research Coordinator to verify the interview results. Finally, our findings were reviewed by the site coordinators. Despite this process, our final selection did not include any self-initiated, education-only, lower-income organization. The fact that we were only able to identify mandated and service delivery organizations as active suggests that these are the organization forms which are now found in lower-income communities.

The Task I interviews and our exploration about active organizations focused on organizations active in educational issues and programs. What became apparent as the study progressed was that "Education" was a broader term than "school" and that the two were not always used interchangeably. As a result, we included organizations which are involved in "education", not "school" issues. An organization which runs after-school special tutoring or bilingual programs was identified as being involved in "education." This distinction meant that several organizations selected for study were not necessarily actively engaged in school issues, but were in the business of offering supplemental education programs or services. These organizations had been cited as "active" and appeared to fulfill the requirement for current participation in school policy issues.

The generally low level of community organization activity around school-system issues became increasingly important as the study progressed. This issue resulted in the decision to attempt to complete an organizational census for each of the three field sites to determine if we had indeed found a low level of activity or had been misled, based on an inadequate or uprepresentative sample of interview respondents. A review of these organizations was incorporated in the research and became a part of the study, particularly in the networking analysis. This confirmed that our selection was not misleading.

An additional problem in the organizational selection process related to incomplete information. In two cases, the initial interviews did not elicit the full information necessary to make proper decisions on the selection of organizations. While concentrating on organizations mandated by the school system, we did not recognize that one organization, which we assumed to be self-initiated, was in fact mandated by another city agency. This we discovered after the research was underway. As a result, the sample gained an extra mandated group. In the second case, the organization was part of a multiunit structure funded by a private agency.

Despite the problems in the organizational selection process, the final selection seems sound. Although the study included more mandated organizations than originally intended, this reflects the extent to which mandated organizations have become one of the dominant forms of community organizations in schools. Although we have included organizations which are primarily oriented towards supplemental education programs rather than advocacy activities, this also reflects the state of organizational activity in American cities.

There have been only minor problems in conducting the organization research. We experienced no problem of organizational attrition; the 16 organizations remained involved in the project until its conclusion. Attrition often plagues such long-term research efforts, yet our organizations, despite cases of leadership change and other significant internal changes, remained willing participants in the study.

As part of our agreement in this study of the community organizations, no actual organization names are used in either the text or the appendices. Pseudonyms are used for each organization. Capsule descriptions of the 16 participating organizations follow.

ORGANIZATION PROFILES

The process described previously resulted in the selection of 16 organizations for participation in the study: six in Atlanta, five in Boston, and five in Los Angeles. The capsule descriptions below present brief outlines of the organizations and of their major activities. Appendix C: Organization Profiles, provides more extensive information.

Organization Braves: This self-initiated organization came into being in 1967. It functioned primarily as a settlement house funded by the Episcopal Church. Based in a group of poor neighborhoods, it ran programs dealing with welfare rights, health issues, tenants rights, educational issues, prison reform, and political action. The organization has an extremely visible leader long recognized as an advocate for poor people. The organization's reputation for using confrontative and demonstrative tactics resulted in the business community and decisionmakers viewing it as "disruptive." However, the poor view the organization as one of the few groups which represents their interests.

Organization Peachtrees: This organization, based in one of the wealthiest areas of Atlanta, came into being when parents grew increasingly concerned about the changing racial balance in their schools. The organization's original goal was to reverse the "white flight" from the schools in the area. From this base, the organization became one of the most visible in the city; school system decisionmakers, as well as the business community at large, viewed it as being one of Atlanta's most effective organizations. The organization's primary strength stemmed most from the individual members who often held influential positions in the business community or in the media. Consequently, the organization's positions and activities were widely publicized. The image of the organization was one of considerable influence.

Organization Falcons: This organization, established in 1974 as part of a Charter reform, was mandated to serve as a neighborhood planning unit; one of 24 in the city. It was charged with the establishment of one, five, and 15-year comprehensive development plans for its area. The organization had multipurpose focus with emphasis on physical planning issues such as transportation and parks and the provision of social service. Schools were a low priority although an education committee had been recently established.

Organization Omnis: The Organization, initially established to deal with issues of overcrowding in southwest Atlanta, was concerned entirely with school issues. Expanding on this concern, the organization established itself in the community and has become increasingly visible. Because it is relatively new (established in 1977), much of its agenda had been under development. The organization was tied to the three leaders who have served as organization spokespersons. It has been becoming involved in a major consortium of organizations which aimed to work with the Atlanta school system; a measure of the increasing recognition of its activities.

Organization Grits: This organization is located in a tightly knit poor white neighborhood just outside downtown Atlanta. The neighborhood economy and employment depended on a local mill; when it closed, the neighborhood's economy base evaporated. As an outcome of this change, an organization was set up to serve as a focus for local economic development activities. The organization housed a number of cottage industries and served as the contact point for city planning of development programs. The organization had some contact with area schools, primarily oriented towards attempting to keep students in school (during the past eight years, no male from this neighborhood has graduated from high school). The organization also ran a number of afterschool programs for youth to supplement school programs.

Organization Magnolias: Organization Magnolias, one of the oldest in the study, was started in 1953. Since then, it has attempted to play a number of roles for neighborhood residents. During the 1960's the organization began to serve primarily as a political forum for electoral candidates; however, its leaders were quick to note that they lacked the power to hold candidates to their promises once elected. The organization has recently (1977) attempted to move into service delivery and economic development activities, and is seeking outside funding. The organization's primary contact with the school system was through the individual younger members who had just graduated and have attempted (so far unsuccessfully) to move into leadership positions.

Organization Patriots: In the late 1960s, Boston conducted a special census of Hispanic residents. This identified a growing Hispanic population and also identified a lack of any bilingual social-service agency. As a result, the Patriots were established to serve as a referral service for the Hispanic population and as an agency to establish and support economic development activities in Hispanic communities. Although established to serve all Hispanic residents of the city, the organization is primarily based in a well-defined Hispanic neighborhood. Its education activities are twofold: serving as an advocate for Hispanic students (on an individual basis) in the public schools; and the provision of supplementary education services such as bilingual education.

Organization Yankees: This organization was one of the most active school organizations in Boston. Organized in 1972 to ensure community involvement in the selection of a new school superintendent, the core members decided to continue the organization after the selection process was completed. In order to maintain itself, the organization sought and received outside funding from the State. During the course of this study, the organization underwent a significant reduction in funding and was forced to restrict its activities and undertake an intensive self-examination.

Organization Commons: The Commons, one of the two nonschool mandated organizations in the study, was part of a structure of tenants' advisory groups which reported to the Boston Housing Authority. The organization's mandate included all functions which affected the residents of the Authority's housing development. The organization has been largely dependent on the leadership of one dynamic individual. During the study, that individual stepped aside and the organization was unable to function for a six-month period. In 1978, the organization's future was unclear.

Organization Celtics: This organization, created in 1968, was established to develop a self-help neighborhood corporation which would not depend entirely on outside funding but would be able to develop its own sources of economic support. The organization not only secured funding to develop local housing projects, but also attempted to influence overall economic development including the start-up of new industrial and commercial activities. The organization was also actively engaged in managing a number of enterprises which contributed to its own financial independence.

Organization Fenways: This organization was one of the parent advisory organizations established by the Federal District Court as part of its desegregation order. Organizations at the local school level have two major functions: to bring together parents from different racial/ethnic groups (the racial/ethnic composition of the organization was established by the court) in order to reduce the tensions associated with the busing process: and to serve as the "eyes and ears" of the court in monitoring the desegregation process. Based on this mandate, the organization has been primarily concerned with issues of school safety and reporting through the next level of mandated groups, to the court on desegregation activities in its school.

Organization Dodgers: This organization is part of an extension structure of a mandated school-based organization. Beginning in 1972, the school district required that each school have a school council. Since that time, Federal and State categorical programs which have required parent advisory councils have been incorporated into the original school council structure. The organization has been responsible for the development of proposals for various categorical programs. Membership included parents and teachers. The school administration provides support for the organization.

Organization Margaritas: This organization, technically a mandated organization, differs from the other mandated organizations in the study.

It came into being after a walkout by Chicano students in three high schools. The Chicano community did not feel that their needs were being met by the school system; this resulted in the system establishing a formal mechanism for input from the Chicano community. While the organization was part of the school system, it had no formal mandate; rather it was free to move into any area of concern to the Chicano community. The school system provided a full-time staff member who, while paid by the school district, served at the direction of the organization. As part of the school district, the organization had direct access to information and met regularly with the superintendent and school board.

Organization Sunsets: This organization serviced the Los Angeles Chicano community--its primary activity was training parents to increase their involvement in school system affairs. The organization also served as an information dissemination center for Chicano parents. The memberships of the Margaritas and Sunsets are closely tied together (and also with the members of most other Chicano education organizations). The organization's leader was a well-known education activist; and many of its activities were leadership dependent.

Organization Lakers: This organization, one of a series of groups established by a private funding agency (not by a government agency), nonetheless functioned as a mandated organization in that it was entirely dependent on its external source of support. Its primary activity was to serve as a coordinating agency for social service programs in its area; it provided very few direct services. The organization was somewhat unusual in that its membership, established by the external agency, included both individual members and representatives of local social service agencies. During the course of our research, the organization underwent a period of strain because the executive director was replaced by the external agency: the new leader was not acceptable to many members of the organization. In 1978, the organization's future direction was unclear.

Organization Venturas: This organization was the only multipurpose advocacy organization in the study. A large organization (over 2,000 members) with extensive financial resources, it was active on a number of issues of national concern, including disarmament and women's rights. One of the prime activities of the organization is support of candidates for elective office; the organization supported a candidate for presidency as well as candidates for local offices such as those within the school board. This study focused on the organization's active education committee. The organization's membership was almost entirely composed of women who were generally able to volunteer significant amounts of time to the organization's activities.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Table 2-1 summarizes the major structural characteristics of the participating organizations. The characteristics included in the tables are those which are discussed extensively throughout the report.

Table 2-1 Selected Organizational Characteristics.

ORG.	(1) CITY	(2) ECONOMIC CLASS	(3) STRATEGY	(4) GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE	(5) ISSUE ORIENTATION	(6) RACIAL/ ETHNIC GROUP	(7) LEADER SHIP	(8) MEMBER SHIP	DATE OF INCEP-TION
BRAVES	A	L	S & a	C	M	B	S-C	C	1967
PEACHTREES		U	a	N	S	O	R	V	1976
FALCONS		L	A	N	M	B	I	R	1975
OMNIS		U	a	C	S	B	C	V	1977
GRITS		L	S	C	M	O	S	C	1971
MAGNOLIAS		L	S & a	N	M	B	C	C	1953
PATRIOTS	B	L	S & a	C	M	H	S	C	1971
YANKEES		U	S	C	S	O	S	V-C	1972
COMMONS		L	A & a	N	M	B	I	R	1967
CELTICS		L	S	N	M	B	S	C	1968
FENWAYS		L	A	N	S	B & H	I	R	1974
DODGERS	LA	L	A	N	S	B & H	I	R	1962
MARGARITAS		L	A & a	C	S	H	I-S	R	1968
SUNSETS		L	S	N	S	H	S	C	1970
LAKERS		S	S & a	N	M	B	S	R	1956
VENTURAS		V	a	C	M	O	R	V	1963

1. A - Atlanta; B - Boston; LA - Los Angeles
2. U - Middle-to-upper income; L - lower-income
3. S - Service; a - advocacy; A - advisory
4. C - Citywide; N - neighborhood
5. M - Multi-purpose; S - school issue only
6. B - Black; O - other; H - Hispanic
7. S - Staff; C - constant; R - rotating; I - extremely imposed
8. C - Client; V - voluntary; R - representational

III.

TOWARD A TYPOGRAPHY OF ORGANIZATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The outline of the organizational selection process presented in Chapter II emphasized our use of a typology of structural organization characteristics as the basis for inclusion in the research effort. However, the research results have shown that the characteristics we had anticipated as being of greatest importance were not sound predictors in our organizational activity. The importance of an organization's geographic scope and issue focus have shown themselves to be of relatively minor importance; of the greatest significance were economic class and organizational strategy. Our research has identified Federal and school system policies as the most critical factors in shaping the strategies of low-income organizations. The selection of the organizations for study addressed the issue of economic class, with the inclusion of at least one middle-to-upper-income organization in each city. It was the data themselves which demonstrated the importance of organizational strategy as a variable, particularly for lower-income organizations.

FEDERAL AND SCHOOL SYSTEM POLICY: THE QUESTION OF DEPENDENCY

Our data suggest a pervasive shift in organizational strategy from the advocacy activities of the 1960s to the service activities of the 1970s. Equally significant has been the increase in the number of mandated school organizations. These changes in the strategy orientation of community organizations did not just happen; rather they can be traced to policy decisions at the Federal, State and local levels which altered the role and function of community organizations, and consequently altered their behavior. The research demonstrated that the two most pervasive organizational forms in lower-income communities were mandated and service delivery organizations. Although the selection process for the study was directed specifically towards identifying self-initiated school advocacy organizations, the only "active" organizations we could identify in each city were either mandated or heavily involved in supplying supplementary education services.

One of the major changes which has influenced this change in organization strategy is the push at all levels of government to mandate parent and community involvement. While mandated involvement has existed for many years (one of our mandated organizations was established in 1962), the increased emphasis on this form of involvement became more prominent in the late 1960s as an extension of the concept of "maximum feasible participation." The perception in lower-income communities that the schools were not meeting the needs of students led to advocacy and protest efforts; the response was the development of specially targeted programs with some provision for participation. The primary requirement for mandated structures came from special Federal and State categorical programs. These programs were generally oriented towards lower-income students and schools.

In our sample of organizations, there were a number of cases in which advocacy activities led to the establishment of mandated structures and the formal involvement of parents and community representatives. The most striking case is the case of the Margaritas. The Margaritas were the outgrowth of protest and confrontative activities such as sit-ins and student boycotts in the Chicano community in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) responded to continued pressure by establishing the organization as an official agency of the school district. Similar agencies were established for each major ethnic group in the city; they have served as sounding boards for each of those communities.

Another model of mandated organization, though less direct than the LAUSD experience, was no less important. The use of mandated organizations by courts has become increasingly prevalent, especially as a part of desegregation plans. In the study, we had two cases of court-mandated organizations; one an outgrowth of a desegregation order (the Fenways), the other a mechanism created for involvement of tenants in a housing development. In both cases, groups that were pursuing changes in institutional policy used the courts to bring about those changes. In both cases, one of the outcomes of the court action was the creation of a mandated structure for citizen participation. The advocacy activities which were the basis of the court actions resulted in the establishment of mandated citizen organizations as part of the system.

Another major policy which influenced changes in organization activities was increased government funding for service delivery through community organizations. Through grant programs all levels of government have utilized community organizations as vehicles for providing direct client services. This trend is most pronounced in lower-income communities which often lack formal social service delivery structures. Organizations seeking support for maintenance pursued such funding because they rationalized service to the community as a legitimate role.

In the case of the Patriots, Boston, after completion of a special census, realized that no governmental mechanisms existed to provide social services to the Hispanic residents of the city. Rather than establishing a new agency to provide those services, the city encouraged the development of a Hispanic community-based organization which could contract with the city to provide services.

Government funding can influence the strategy of citizens' organizations as a byproduct of the constraints attached to the funding arrangements. Lower-income advocacy organizations are the most vulnerable because they do not have the resources to maintain themselves over an extended period of time. The securing of government funds allows the organization to continue in existence. It also provides employment to members whose previous involvement may have been on a voluntary basis.

In the study, we have two very explicit examples of this change from advocacy to service in lower-income organizations. In both cases (the Yankees and the Sunsets), the organizations moved from a primarily advocate role to a service orientation, with attendant changes in membership and leadership. In both cases, the original organization primarily resulted from the activities of individuals who became involved in an issue and sought a broader base of support in order to pursue that concern more forcefully. The organizations initially had limited, specific goals and strong individual leadership. After the resolution of the issue, the core group of individuals determined to continue the existence of the organization. The method of continuation was the same in both cases; the adoption of a service strategy and the development of outside funding sources. In both cases, the goal of organizational continuation resulted in the adoption of a new strategy, with consequent changes in the membership, leadership, and in the activities of the organization.

In both categories--mandating involvement and external funding--the key output is the development of organizational dependency. Advocacy strategies require an independence of action not readily compatible with external dependence.

In our selection of organizations for study, those identified as advocacy organizations turned out to be middle-to-upper income. This suggested that the pressures which create organizational dependency in lower-income communities were not prevalent in middle-to-upper income areas; class, therefore, was a major variable in determining behavior. Resources, access to information, access to decisionmakers, and knowledge of the system were all available to middle-income organizations. Additionally, the resources available to the organization ensure that it can continue to function without external support.

The question of economic class and strategy cannot fully be addressed in this study because of the limits of the sample of organizations studied. Of the four middle-to-upper income organizations in the study, three pursued an advocacy strategy. No lower-income organizations in the study were primarily engaged in advocacy activities, although four organizations pursued mixed strategies which included some advocacy activities. These circumstances also made it difficult to separate the effects of economic class from strategy.

The classification of organizations by economic class is significant for two reasons. First, as noted above, middle-to-upper income organizations with independent access to resources did not require the types of external support which result in service orientation or a mandate from the system. Rather, they were free to pursue advocacy activities. Second, class serves as a significant predictor of organizational characteristics and behavior.

The issue of organizational strategy and external dependence was also a predictor of organizational form. Those organizations which remained independent showed different patterns of operation from those which depended on external resources. The fact that such dependent organizations may be considered as part of the system limits their ability to pursue protest and confrontation strategies.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The analysis of the data regarding the organizations has produced the following general conclusions:

- economic class is the key element in determining organizational strategy; middle-to-upper-income organizations are free to play an advocacy role while lower-income organizations require external support and are limited in their choice of strategies.
- middle-to-upper-income organizations show significant differences in terms of internal organizational characteristics such as leadership, membership and funding as compared to lower-income organizations.
- middle-to-upper-income organizations also show higher levels of external activity in terms of networking and the political activities of individual members as compared to lower-income organizations.
- lower-income organizations which pursued an advocacy strategy in the 1960s have abandoned their advocate role and become part of the system or accepted funding which has increased their dependence on external sources.
- the strategy an organization pursues affects the internal structure of the organization in terms of membership and leadership.
- those organizations pursuing an advocacy strategy show higher levels of organization and individual political activity.
- middle-to-upper-income black organizations seem to parallel white organizations in their external behavior but not in terms of internal characteristics such as leadership and membership.

- the geographic base of an organization has little predictive value in analyzing that organization except in terms of the level at which the organization networks.

- although our research focused on lower-income, neighborhood based, school-issue organizations, we have identified few self-initiated, lower-income school-issue-only organizations. Community development/service delivery organizations are the most active lower-income organizations.

- these multi-purpose organizations have shown minimal interest in school system issues.

- there are no differences between school-issue organization members and multipurpose organization members in terms of their attitudes towards whether or not their organizations should be involved in school-system decisionmaking.

ECONOMIC CLASS

Our findings have indicated that distinguishing organizations by economic class helps to describe them in terms of both their internal structure and their external influence.

In order to arrive at a determination of the income level of the organizations, two factors were considered. First, for those organizations with voluntary membership (see Chapter IV: Characteristics of Community Organizations, for full definition of this category), the determination was based on an average of the incomes reported by leaders and members in the questionnaire responses (membership questionnaire, item 39; leadership questionnaire, item 47). Second, for those organizations with client or representational membership, the determination was based on the average income (using 1970 census data) of the members of the neighborhood identified with the organization. Using this basis, it is possible for an organization to be categorized as lower income but with a formal membership with significantly higher incomes. A cutoff of $9,000 was used to distinguish between the two categories of organizations. Our determinations were then checked with the site coordinators to ensure that the categorization accurately reflected the economic class of the organization.

The study includes four organizations that we have identified as middle-to-upper income. Our selection process was specifically designed to include the designation of one middle-class organization in each city, to allow us to examine any differences in patterns of organizational behavior as compared to lower-income groups. The middle-class organizations are the Peachtrees, the Omnis, the Yankees and the Venturas.

These four organizations all have predominantly white memberships. This contrasts with the lower-income organizations, of which only 2 of the 12 are predominantly white. Included in the initial organization selection were two middle-to-upper-income black organizations. Despite intensive efforts to include these organizations in the project, both declined to be studied. Since the participation of a middle-to-upper income black organization was considered essential to the design of the study, a number of other possibilities were explored, resulting in the selection of a black, citywide, educational-issue-only organization (the Omnis).

The distribution of organization leaders and members income supports our distinctions (see leadership questionnaire, item 47, membership questionnaire, item 39).

In both leadership and membership the middle-to-upper income organizations show uniformly high responses, with 80 percent of the leaders and 53 percent of the members indicating household incomes over $24,000. Conversely, in the lower-income organizations, 47 percent of the leaders and 58 percent of the members indicated household incomes under $12,000, with approximately 33 percent in both cases reporting incomes under $8,000. The lower-income leadership figures may be somewhat misleading in that a number of the leadership respondents were senior staff members of the organizations; positions which may offer comparatively high levels of compensation. While the income distinction is not entirely clear-cut since 42 percent of the lower-income leaders and 32 percent of the members reported household incomes over $16,000, the overall distinction between the middle-to-upper and lower-income class categories appears to be a meaningful one for the organizations in this study.

Internal Organization Characteristics

The most important components of an organization are the nature of membership and leadership. In these two critical categories, the middle-to-upper-income organizations show significant differences from lower-income organizations.

In the section on strategy, we outlined the four patterns of leadership seen in the 16 organizations in this study: rotating, externally imposed, constant, and staff. While these patterns are clearly related to organizational strategy, clear distinctions also exist when the organizations are categorized by income class. Though the leadership pattern of some organizations fell into more than one category, most of the organizations in the study reflected one of these four models. The determination as to the correct category was based on the research staff's analysis and was confirmed by the site coordinators. Table 3-1 shows the relations between the categories of leadership and income class.

The one middle-class organization which did not have a rotating pattern was initially an advocacy organization without staff. This became a service organization; if our study had been done in the first year of that organization's existence, it would have been recorded as having rotating leadership.

These distinctions in leadership models are supported by members' responses to questionnaire items on whether they held any leadership position in the organization.

Table 3-1. Organizational leadership type, by income class of organization

Type of Leadership	Income Class of Organization.		
	Middle-to-upper income	Lower income	Total
Rotating leadership	2	-	2
Externally-imposed leadership	-	4	4
Constant leadership	1	1	2
Staff leadership	1	5	6
Mixed:			
Externally-imposed/staff	-	1	1
Constant staff	-	1	1
Total	4	12	16

Table 3-2. Numbers of members who have held leadership positions, by leadership style of organization.

Type of Organizational Leadership	Majority of respondents held leadership positions	Equal number of respondents held/not held leadership positions	Majority respondents have not held leadership positions	Total
Rotating leadership	2	-	-	2
Externally-imposed leadership	-	1	3	4
Constant leadership	1	-	-	1
Staff leadership	1	1	3	5
Mixed:				
Externally-imposed/staff	-	1	-	1
Constant staff	1	-	-	1
Total	5	3	6	14*

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*Total is based on number of organizations responding to item 3, membership questionnaire.

We observed three membership types in the organizations: voluntary, representational, and client. These patterns of membership have a direct relationship to the income class of the 16 organizations studied. Table 3-3 shows the distinction in membership pattern by income class.

Table 3-3. Type of organizational membership, by income class.

Type of Organizational Membership	Income Class of Organization Middle-to-upper income	 Lower income	 Total
Voluntary membership	4	-	4
Representative membership	-	6	6
Client membership	-	6	6
Total	4	12	16

Since Federal and State legislation mandates school organizations in all income groups, the lack of middle-to-upper-income representational organizations in this study can be attributed in part to the organizational selection process. We are certain, however, that the legislation weighs heavily in supporting lower-income mandated groups.

When the membership and leadership typologies are combined, certain predictable patterns emerge, as shown below.

Table 3-4. Type of organizational membership, by leadership style of organizations.

Type of Organizational Leadership	Membership Voluntary	 Representational	 Client	 Total
Rotating	3	-	-	3
Externally-imposed	-	4	-	4
Constant	-	-	1	1
Staff	1	1	4	6
Mixed:				
Constant	-	-	1	1
Externally-imposed/staff	-	1	-	1
Total	4	6	6	16

As table 3-4 indicates, of the three models, the voluntary, rotating leadership pattern related directly to the middle-to-upper-income organizations while the representational and client memberships and the externally-imposed, constant and staff leadership patterns related to lower-income organizations.

External Organization Behavior

Organizations, if they are seeking to influence policy or perform a service, must adopt strategies to meet those goals. The 16 organizations showed significant differences in terms of the strategies when measured by income class.

An element of analysis is identification of the overall strategy the organization adopts to meet its goals. We have previously identified three major strategies; advocacy, service, and advisory. Additionally, some organizations adopted more than one strategy.

Table 3-5. Organizational strategy by income class of organization.

	Income Class of Organization		
Organizational Strategy	Middle-to-upper income	Lower income	Total
Advocacy	3	-	3
Service	1	3	4
Advisory	-	3	3
Mixed:			
Advocacy-service	-	4	4
Advocacy-advisory	-	2	2
Total	4	12	16

Table 3-5 shows clearly the importance of the service and advisory strategies in lower-income communities. In Chapter IV: Characteristics of Community Organizations, we discuss more fully the dependence on external sources of support of organizations adopting these two strategies --either funding or a mandate. However, it should be noted here that the strategies in lower-income communities required this external support; organizations which pursued an advocacy strategy were significantly more independent. Since the 1960s, we have seen these lower-income advocacy organizations which were active either die out or move into direct service delivery. This movement suggests that levels of interest and internal support necessary to sustain advocacy were not readily available in lower-income communities. Therefore the traditional value of ensuring organizational continuation resulted in this shift from an independent to dependent status.

Networking was a major aspect of organization behavior addressed in the study. This process is important because through it information and favors can be exchanged. The networking patterns of the 16 organizations show clear distinctions based on class.

If we examine the broadest measure of networking activity, the number of identified contacts, the middle-to-upper income groups showed the highest levels of activity (see Appendix G: Networking Data, for Network Tables).

Table 3-6. Network activity by income class of organization

Number of network contacts	Income Class of Organization Middle-to-upper income	Lower income
1 - 10	1	6
11 - 20	1	2
21 - 30	-	1
31 - 40	-	3
41+	2	-
Total	4	12

The two middle-to-upper-income organizations which showed relatively low levels of network activity may be considered special cases. The first organization which showed a low level of network activity (1-10 contacts) had been in existence only a short period of time, which may account for its lack of outside contacts. In fact, after the data-gathering phase of the project was completed, this organization was asked to participate in a consortium to develop an education resource center; this involvement may prove a more accurate indication of the organization's potential networking ability.

The second organization (11-20 contacts) was distinct from the other three middle-to-upper income organizations in that it had adopted a service strategy. As indicated in the networking data (see Chapter V: Networking and Organization Effectiveness), the strategy an organization pursued was a prime determinant of its level of network activity. With these two special cases in mind, table 3-6 indicates the difference in the level of networking activity between the two categories of organizations.

Another interesting distinction between the organizations is their attitude towards community development. While members from all the responding organizations indicated some support for organizational involvement in community development issues, the only pattern of negative responses occurred in the middle-to-upper-income organizations (membership questionnaire, item 34).

Table 3-7. Organizational support for organizational involvement in community development, by income class of organization.

Income class of organization	Involvement in Community Development Yes (percent)	No (percent)	Total (percent)
Middle to upper	61	35	96
Lower	98	2	100

An additional measure of class distinction was the ability of members to make individual contacts with key decisionmakers. While members of all the responding organizations indicated that they had contacts with decisionmakers, the pattern of contacts was greater in the middle-to-upper-income organizations (membership questionnaire, item 21).

Table 3-8. Organization members' contacts with decisionmakers, by income class of organization.

Income Class of Organization	Contacts with Decisionmakers Positive (%)	Negative (%)	Total (%)
Middle-to-Upper	89	11	100
Lower	47	43	90

The results of the reputational analysis conducted in the interviews with decisionmakers during the final phase of the research identified the middle-to-upper-income organizations as the most active and effective organizations. The interviews, conducted over the course of the research, also indicated high recognition and perception of the effectiveness of these organizations (see Appendix F: Interview Data). While some of the lower-income organizations were identified by the interview respondents, the interviewers stated that often they were forced to specifically mention the lower-income organizations because the respondents would not identify them independently.

In terms of both internal and external characteristics, the organizations show clearly divergent patterns of behavior according to income. In terms of internal characteristics, middle-to-upper-income organizations were more likely to have rotating leadership, voluntary membership and to rely on independent funding sources. Externally, they were more likely to engage in advocacy strategies and to rely heavily on networking to pursue their goals. The lower-income organizations were more likely to have constant, imposed or staff leadership; representational or client membership; and to rely on external sources of support.

STRATEGY

We have identified the following three basic strategies that organizations use to pursue their goals.

(1) Advocacy

This strategy requires the organization to focus on challenging either existing institutions (both political and economic) or their policies. This strategy, one of political action, refers to advocacy for groups rather than an individual problem orientation, which is closer to a negotiation or individual service strategy.

(2) Service

The service strategy describes those organizations focusing primarily on the provision of client services, including individual and group services.

(3) Advisory

The organization was created or mandated by the action of a governmental unit to serve in an advisory capacity to the agency. The organization role, structure, and activities are basically defined by the creating agencies.

Some organizations use multiple strategies. Of the 16 organizations, six have adopted more than one strategy; two use both advocacy and advisory strategies, and four adopted both advocacy and service strategies. Table 3-9 shows the distribution of organizations by type of strategy.

Table 3-9. Number of organizations within selected strategy types.

Strategy	Organization
Advocacy	Peachtrees, Omnis, Venturas
Service	Grits, Yankees, Celtics, Sunsets
Advisory	Falcons, Fenways, Dodgers
Mixed:	
Advocacy-service	Braves, Magnolias, Patriots, Lakers
Advocacy-advisory	Commons, Margaritas

As table 3-9 indicates, the 16 organizations studied are fairly evenly distributed across these five categories. This distribution is unusual considering that the purpose of the study was to focus on self-initiated organizations involved in educational policy issues. We had anticipated that the largest number of organizations would fall into the advocacy classification as a result of the selection process which sought out the most "active" groups (see Apprendix D: Research Methods and Procedures). Using the broadest evaluation of the 16 organizations, only seven fall into the advocacy category, including mixed advocacy-service strategies. The relative importance of service organizations in the group suggests the increasing importance of service as an organizational form.* Among the organizations in lower-income communities, the dearth of those involved in advocacy activities is even more striking. No lower-income organizations have adopted a pure advocacy strategy. The closest approximation are those independent advocacy-service organizations which are distinct from the mandated advocacy-advisory organizations. The predominance of the service, advisory and mixed strategies among lower-income organizations attests to their lack of resources and the importance of external support for maintenance. However, this apparent support requirement has not necessarily been true historically. Advocacy organizations flourished in lower-income communities during the 1960s, but those which have survived, and the new organizations of the 1970s, have focused on the service function.

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*This confirms the conclusions Perlman made in her study of grassroots organizations (Perlman, 1976).

One of the most important aspects of the strategy analysis relates to the activities of mandated organizations. These have proliferated under government legislation. Our review of patterns of organizational activity in the first phase of the study indicated the importance of the mandated organizations and resulted in our decision to select at least one mandated organization in each city. In fact, we found that we unintentionally had five mandated organizations; one in Atlanta, two in Boston, and two in Los Angeles. Of the five, three are school-issue-only oriented, and two are multipurpose. Four of the five are neighborhood based while the fifth is citywide.

Our initial typology called for a distinction between organizations as either self-initiated or mandated. As the research progressed we determined that the most effective method of analyzing these mandated groups was based on their strategy (e.g., advisory); the measure of their activities in attempting to deal with decisionmakers. The five mandated groups are shown in two categories: three in advisory and two in advocacy-advisory.

Internal Organization Characteristics

While we have identified the strategy question as pertaining to external organizational behavior, it has significance for internal organization. The most fundamental differences related to membership and leadership.

Our observations of the organizations in this study have led us to identify four leadership patterns:

(1) Rotating Leadership

A number of individuals have the contacts and experience to take leadership positions; former leaders stay in the organization, using their experience to support new leadership. This model provides for circulation of leaders within the organization.

(2) Externally-imposed Leadership

This category largely describes the leadership of mandated organizations in which the leadership structure and process of selection is developed by the external institution.

(3) Constant Leadership

While our study includes only one organization which might fall exclusively within this category, we recognize that the model exists more extensively outside the study. Under constant leadership, the organization and the leader may become one and the same, and membership may be virtually nonexistent. Leadership is retained by these traditional leaders for long periods of time. Within our study, only the Magnolias fit into this pattern.

(4) Staff Leadership

Leaders of the organization are the paid staff. This model appears to be increasingly important as many of the advocacy groups of the 1960s became service organizations in the 1970s. In such organizations, the staff, because it is on the job full time, becomes a major influence in organization policy and represents the organization in interorganizational contacts.

While there are organizations whose leadership patterns fall into more than one category, most of the organizations in the study can be classified in one of these four models. Chapter IV, Characteristics of Community Organizations, will discuss these leadership styles in more detail.

Table 3-10. Leadership types, by strategy of organization.

Organizational strategy	Leadership Type				
	Rotating	Externally-imposed	Charismatic	Staff	Mixed
Advocacy	3	-	-	-	-
Service	-	-	-	4	-
Advisory	-	3	-	-	-
Mixed:					
Advocacy-service	-	-	1	2	1
Advocacy-advisory	-	1	-	-	1
Total	3	4	1	6	2

As table 3-10 shows, the rotating leadership pattern, which generally includes no paid staff, is the pattern for those organizations which use advocacy as a strategy. The service organizations are heavily dependent on staff leadership. Advisory organizations rely on leadership patterns dictated by the mandating institution. Finally, only those organizations which pursue mixed strategies evidenced mixed leadership patterns.

In terms of membership, we have analyzed and distinguished three distinct patterns. First is the traditional concept of membership in which individuals choose to join an organization based on shared interests and pay dues to support the organization's activities. Second, we examined, the concept of membership as representation. In this model, members of the organization are elected or appointed from a target community to serve as a bridge between that community and the institution which establishes the organization. This model applies primarily to the mandated organizations in the study (e.g., the Dodgers). In these cases, membership is determined by the institution mandating the organization. Usually individuals serve in these organizations as the result of elections; their function is to represent segments of the community.

The third membership concept is the most expansive and includes clients and potential clients. For service and economic development organizations, services are provided to all community residents or target populations needing the service. Membership does not exist in its traditional definition. Service and/or economic development organizations often identify their clients as members. Chapter IV will discuss these three membership concepts more fully.

The membership data parallel the leadership findings. They are presented below.

Table 3-11. Membership type, by strategy of organization.

Organizational strategy	Membership Type Voluntary	 Representative	 Client
Advocacy	3	-	-
Service	1	-	3
Advisory	-	3	-
Mixed:			
Advocacy-service	-	1	3
Advocacy-advisory	-	2	-
Total	4	6	6

As table 3-11 indicates, advocacy organizations are most likely to exhibit voluntary membership patterns. The relationship between membership base and strategy is important. The ability of an organization to take strong positions and use an advocacy strategy may be related to the ties an individual has to the organization or its purposive function. If a member chooses to join an organization to pursue his or her political or individual goals, we can anticipate organizational involvement in advocacy activities. To the extent that the organization's activities are determined by the availability of external funding and the desire of a professional staff to maintain their jobs, that organization is less likely to take political stands. The funding sources of an organization also reflect its strategy (see leadership questionnaire, item 15).

As table 3-12 indicates, type of strategy reflects significant differences in the sources of organizational funding. The advocacy organizations rely primarily on dues and donations.

Table 3-12. Funding sources, by type of organization.

Organizational strategy	Funding Sources				
	Dues	Donations	Grants	Foundations	Government
Advocacy	2	3	1	-	-
Service	2	3	3	3	4
Advisory	1	-	-	-	1
Mixed:					
Advocacy-service	2	2	2	2	2
Advocacy-advisory	-	1	1	-	2

The service organizations indicate reliance on dues, donations, and external funding. The advisory organizations generally are not required to generate funding beyond the support they receive from the mandating institution to ensure their continuation. They show the least concern about it. The funding patterns shown in table 3-12 also indicate the degree of external dependence of the organizations in this study. The mandated organizations function primarily without funding. The service organizations show extensive patterns of external support, with many indicating multiple sources of support. The extent to which the activities of these organizations are dependent on these external sources will be discussed in Chapter VI, Organizations and Policy Goals.

One of the outcomes of the strategy and funding an organization pursues is the role that staff play in that organization. The differences can be seen in the organizations in this study (see leadership questionnaire, item 16).

Table 3-13. Numbers of organizations with paid staff by strategy type.

Organizational strategy	Have Paid Staff:	
	Yes	No
Advocacy	1	2
Service	4	-
Advisory	1	2
Mixed:		
Advocacy-service	4	-
Advocacy-advisory	2	-

Table 3-13 data show only one advocacy organization which has paid staff, and that staff is limited to clerical functions and does not play a leadership role in the organization.

Generally, the table reflects the difference in practices regarding staff that were made evident in the discussion of organizational leadership.

Most advocacy organizations rely on voluntary leadership and eschew paid staff. The service organizations are heavily dependent on paid staff. Advisory organizations seldom have staff; in the cases where paid staff does exist, it is usually provided by the mandating institution, not the organization.

Although six of our organizations show mixed strategies, the preceding discussions indicate the effects of dependence on external institutions for organizational support. Though we have identified four organizations as engaging in both service and advocacy strategies, their primary focus is on service. Their advocacy activities are limited to representation rather than political action. The one exception is a multipurpose organization in Atlanta which includes several suborganizations with specific advocacy goals, such as welfare rights. This organization often finds itself confronting some governmental agency, including the school system. Most often, however, we have found that the organizations which attempt to mix advocacy and service strategies focus on service activities.

The increasing emphasis on the use of a service strategy reflected in the organizations participating in this study has also been observed by other researchers, especially Fainstein and Fainstein (1974). Two of the organizations (the Yankees and the Sunsets), which during the 1960's were actively involved in advocacy, have moved into the area of direct client services. This movement from "protest to program" explains the limited number of advocacy groups in our study functioning in lower-income communities.

It is important to note that the service strategy often places limits on the ability of organizations to be advocates. The pursuit of private or government funding of itself would tend to limit advocacy. The extent to which proposal preparation and maintenance require organizational time and effort takes away from the time that might be spent on advocacy activities. Once funding is secured the organization must be careful not to offend the funding source. Several of our interviews suggested this was a problem they faced. There are also formal constraints on the extent to which nonprofit incorporated organizations can pursue political activities. Under the Federal tax law, tax-exempt organizations were, until recently, specifically prohibited from pursuing political activities. Since service and community development organizations often must be nonprofit to secure government funding, advocacy activity is prohibited. (See Chapter VI: Organizations and Policy Goals for a discussion of this problem with reference to the Proposition 13 issue.) Those organizations in this study which are exceptions to this rule often use separate structures to pursue their different strategies; in effect, they run a second organization to avoid the political limitation of accepting government funding.

External Organization Behavior

The important distinction among the organizations in terms of their strategies related to the ways in which they attempted to influence institutions and policies as they worked towards their organizational goals. These efforts may include networking, contact with decisionmakers, and the action of individual members.

The networking research findings (see Chapter V: Networking and Organizational Effectiveness) noted that the patterns of interorganizational networking were related to the organizations' strategy. Those organizations which engaged in advocacy generally showed the highest levels of interorganizational networking. The service strategy organizations also showed extensive network patterns, with the bulk of the contacts limited to other organizations involved with similar issues. Finally, those organizations which played an advisory role as mandated government organizations showed significantly lower levels of network activity; those contacts which did exist were primarily limited to other mandated groups or the government officials with whom they worked as part of their mandated functions.

With regard to nonorganizational contacts (e.g., political party organizations, elected officials), the pattern of network contacts was less clear cut, although certain strategy distinctions did exist. The most important distinction in this aspect of networking was the contact with funding sources. Service organizations had the most extensive contacts of this kind. The basic distinctions in pattern of networking activity reflected organizational strategy. The advocacy pattern showed the greatest range of two-way network exchanges. The service and community development patterns reflected extensive contacts with funding sources and, as the model network patterns in Chapter V indicate, often included different institutions at different stages of program development and implementation. The mandated organizations had limited network activity, with the greatest contact with the mandating institution.

A factor closely tied to the question of strategy as it relates to networking is whether the individual members have or are currently members of other organizations. The members of advocacy organizations showed the most extensive pattern of involvement with other organizations (membership questionnaire, item 9).

Table 3-14 shows that advocacy organizations have the highest percentage; service organizations the next highest; and advisory organizations the lowest level of joint memberships.

An examination of joint memberships among organization leaders (see Table 3-15) does not show clear cut distinctions, although advocacy organization leaders are slightly more likely to have multiple memberships than service or advisory organization leaders (leadership questionnaire, item 6).

Table 3-14. Organization members' joint memberships, by type of organization.

Organizational strategy	Members holding other memberships: by percent	
	Yes	No
Advocacy	100	0
Service	42	58
Advisory	35	65
Mixed:		
Advocacy-service	43	57
Advocacy-advisory	33	67

Table 3-15. Organization leaders joint memberships, by type of organization.

Organizational strategy	Members holding other membership: by percent	
	Yes	No
Advocacy	88	12
Service	72	28
Advisory	83	17
Mixed:		
Advisory-service	54	46
Advocacy-advisory	44	56

The leadership data appear to reflect the findings of other researchers that leaders are more likely to have multiple organization memberships than members.

One interesting finding does not appear to fit this pattern. When the organizational leaders were asked if their organizations had regular meetings with local and city leaders, the advocacy organizations showed the lowest level of regular contact (leadership questionnaire, item 13a). Table 3-16 presents our findings.

Table 3-16. Meetings with local political leadership, by type of organization.

Organizational strategy	Respondents having/not having meetings	
	Yes	No
Advocacy	1	2
Service	3	1
Advisory	2	0
Mixed:		
Advocacy-service	2	2
Advocacy-advisory	2	0

While at first glance these findings might appear to contradict the previous ones, they actually reflect the activities of the various organizations. Service organizations must be in frequent contact with elected officials to report on their activities and secure support for their funding proposals. Advisory organizations maintain regular contact as part of their mandate. In both cases, the contacts are generally cooperative and supportive rather than confrontational. Advocacy organizations contact officials as issues arise rather than on a consistent basis. This pattern was supported by the responses of leaders when they were asked if their organizations had regular contact with the school administration. The only two organizations, regardless of issue orientation, which indicated that they were not in regular contact were advocacy organizations.

The strategy of an organization is reflected in the political activities of its members. Members of advocacy organizations showed the highest and members of advisory organizations the lowest levels of political activity (see tables 3-17, 3-18 and 3-19, and membership questionnaire, items 37a, b and c).

Table 3-17. Members' frequency of contact, written or oral, with a municipal public official about a public issue, within previous 5-year period, by type of organization.

Organizational strategy	By percent 2 times or less	 3 or more times
Advocacy	14	86
Service	39	61
Advisory	63	37
Mixed:		
Advocacy-service	50	50
Advocacy-advisory	67	33

Table 3-18. Members' campaign service for a municipal office-seeker within previous 5-year period, by type of organization.

Organizational strategy	By Percent Yes	 No
Advocacy	36	64
Service	59	41
Advisory	94	6
Mixed:		
Advocacy-service	79	21
Advocacy-advisory	83	17

Table 3-19. Members' decisions to vote in municipal elections in previous 5-year period, by type of organization.

Organizational strategy	By percent	
	Have not voted	Have voted
Advocacy	7	93
Service	22	78
Advisory	31	69
Mixed:		
Advocacy-service	67	33
Advocacy-advisory	12	88

Tables 3-17, 3-18 and 3-19 indicate the relationship between organizational strategy and the political activities of individual members. We see in all the data that the members of advocacy organizations were more likely to engage in political activities. Their levels of activity appeared significantly higher in all three cases. The service organizations showed a lower and the advisory organizations showed the lowest level of political activity. This pattern held true in all three cases.

The data suggest a number of different explanations. First, they appear to emphasize the political activities of middle-to-upper-income organizations. (The three advocacy organizations are all middle-to-upper income. The fourth middle-to-upper income organization, which employed service as its primary strategy, showed high levels of political activity by members.) The networking research has noted the importance of the individual contacts members bring to their organization. These data support the view that the individual political activities of the members served as the basis for an organization's political advocacy activities.

When combined with the findings on regular contacts with political decisionmakers, these data become even more suggestive. Those organizations which had the least regular contact with decisionmakers showed the highest degree of political activity. This may indicate that the channels which individual members develop result in access which does not require reqular contact to ensure their continued accessibility. Service and advisory organizations must maintain their access through regular meetings. This distinction may also reflect differences in the nature of the contact. The organizational maintenance which is reflected in the service and advisory contacts may reflect the dependency relationship produced by reliance on external support. (For a further discussion of the distinctions in the types of contacts, see Chapter V.) Finally, the ability to use these regular channels to resolve individual, nonpolicy issues, results in a strategy which emphasizes cooperation and negotiation rather than opposition and confrontation.

The attitudes of the members towards a city school system can be distinguished by the varying strategies of the organizations. Generally, the advocacy organizations showed the highest degree of approval of the system while the service organizations tended to be the least supportive (membership questionnaire, items 22 and 23).

Table 3-20. Members' perceptions on whether school system administration was competent, by type of organization.

Organizational strategy	By percent Yes	By percent No
Advocacy	47	53
Service	5	95
Advisory	24	76
Mixed:		
Advocacy-service	14	86
Advocacy-advisory*	67	33

Table 3-21. Members' perceptions as to whether school system was run for benefit of students, by type of organization.

Organizational strategy	By percent Yes	By percent No
Advocacy	67	33
Service	13	87
Advisory	65	35
Mixed:		
Advocacy-service	65	35
Advocacy-advisory*	69	31

In both these cases, service organizations have the lowest number of positive responses while the advocacy organizations tend to be more positive. The service organizations were primarily involved in the provision of supplementary services to students and, in some cases, in the development of alternative education. The special knowledge of these groups might explain their overwhelming sense that the system was doing a poor job of educating students. This would confirm other research which has indicated that increased knowledge results in an increasingly negative perception of the quality of the service provided (Nelkin, 1977). It is important to note that the members of the one middle-to-upper-income service organization (the Yankees) also held negative attitudes towards the school system. In fact, in this organization no member responded "yes" to either question 22 or 23.

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*This category, which contains only two organizations, is unusual in that one organization is tied closely to the principal of the local school.

Finally, we see the strategies the members of the organizations felt is most important to the organization (membership questionnaire, item 31).

Table 3-22. Operating strategies adopted by organizations.

Organizational strategy	Operating Strategies: Cooperation with school system/government	Confrontation with school system/government	Public relations	Interorganizational networking	Community development
Advocacy	1	-	1	-	-
Service	1	-	-	-	3
Advisory	3	-	-	-	1
Mixed:					
Advocacy-service	1	1	-	-	1
Advocacy-advisory	1	-	-	1	-
Total	7	1	1	1	5

As table 3-22 indicates, the predominant activity for all organizations which responded to this question is cooperation with the system. Three organizations have identified community development as the primary activity. Only one organization identified confrontation as a primary strategy. This organization is involved in a number of different areas including welfare rights, and the welfare group is often in conflict with local and state governments. These data are further confirmation of the shift in community organizations from protest activities to working with the system. Of the 15 responses, 12 indicate cooperation as their primary emphasis. It is clear that cooperation is the byword for the 1970s.

Geographic Scope

In our early research, we hypothesized that as a result of their geographic base, there would be significant differences in the types of contacts that the organizations maintained. We suggested, for example, that citywide organizations would be more inclined to have contacts with the decisionmakers at the school-district level while neighborhood organizations would be tied to the local schools.

For purposes of analysis, we have reclassified four geographic distinctions: citywide, areawide, neighborhood and school-based.

Table 3-23. Distribution of organizations, by geographic scope.*

Geographic Scope	Organizations
Citywide	Braves, Omnis, Patriots, Yankees, Margaritas, Venturas
Neighborhood	Peachtrees, Falcons, Grits, Magnolias, Commons, Celtics, Fenways, Dodgers, Sunsets, Lakers

This distribution shows some interesting features. Of the organizations in this study, there are no lower income neighborhood-based education-only organizations; the only self-initiated neighborhood issue organization being middle-to-upper income. This lack of self-initiated organizational activity in lower income neighborhoods may reflect the nature of the school system. As Chapter VII: The Politics of School Systems and Community Organization Access on the three school systems indicates, all the systems are administratively decentralized, but power was retained at the central level. Recognition of that fact can be considered a stimulant and a focus to groups to organize specifically at this level.

On the other hand, groups faced extensive pressures to organize at the local school level. The most important pressure was that concern with school issues has historically occurred around the local school. Structures such as the PTA's subsequently evolved and have been accepted as part of the system by the school decisionmakers. This trend has been further reinforced by the practice of mandating involvement at the local school level; even though our data suggest that such organizations tended to limit their activities to involvement with that local school only. Finally, the local school can serve as an organizing focal point for ad hoc organizations on special school issues (e.g., school closings). Thus, the current school system encouraged organization at the citywide or the local school level while providing no incentive for organizations to organize at the neighborhood level and tie the schools to other local issues.

It is also interesting to note that the four middle-to-upper-income organizations are based in areas or in the city as a whole. Of the seven self-initiated area- and citywide organizations, four were middle-to-upper income (all the organizations in this category) and three were lower income, (of a total of seven), one of which was established by a national funding agency. This suggests that lower-income organizations may not be able to develop a broad enough base of support to organize on a citywide basis.

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*The determination of the category in which each organization fits is based on the analysis of the site research teams, reviewed by the central office staff.

Despite our initial hypotheses, the data have shown few differences among the organizations in terms of their geographic bases. The questionnaire responses show few differences among organizations in terms of their contacts with the school system. In terms of contacts with decisionmakers (membership questionnaire, item 21) and contacts with the school system (membership questionnaire, item 22), no distinctions by geographic base appeared between the organizations. Generally, the organizations sought involvement in the formulation of school system policy. When the leaders were asked to identify the governmental levels with which they had been in contact (leadership questionnaire, item 32), the responses did not relate to the geographic basis of the organization; in fact, neighborhood organizations were as likely to be in contact with city decisionmakers as were areawide organizations.

One small difference between the organizations is the size of the organization itself (leadership questionnaire, item 17).

Table 3-24. Size distribution of organizational memberships, by geographic scope of organization.

Geographic scope of organization	Size of Membership			
	Less than 50	51 - 100	101 - 200	200+
Citywide	1	3	-	4
Neighborhood	4	-	1	-

As table 3-24 indicates, there is some correlation between the geographical scope of an organization and the size of the formal membership. Four organizations did not respond to this question; all four were service or economic development organizations and clients were viewed as members.

An analysis of the leadership responses also shows few differences in responses among organizations as a result of their geographic base. If we limit ourselves to only the school-issue organizations, we see that the issue agenda of the school-based organizations differ little from those of the areawide or citywide organizations. Both include issues such as desegregation, budget, personnel and curriculum (leadership questionnaire, item 42). Again, the difference in orientation we anticipated finding did not show up in the data.

Finally, we see that even the networking data show minimal variation based on the geographic scope of an organization. However, one point should be noted. The neighborhood organizations show a pattern of contact with other neighborhood organizations rather than networking at citywide or higher levels while citywide organizations, as would be expected, show strange networking patterns at the city level.

While there are some differences in the levels of networking, no strong pattern emerges; especially when we consider the other organizational characteristics (strategy, issue orientation, dependence on external institutions), which appear to influence more directly the levels of network activity.

This overall pattern suggests that the geographic basis of an organization has little effect on the activities of the organization, except that middle-to-upper-income organizations were more likely to organize on an area- or citywide basis.

The major finding of this section is the relationship between geographic scope and issue orientation. The fact that all our neighborhood organizations were multipurpose indicates the priority these communities placed on local economic development. This movement of neighborhoods away from school issues represents one of the most significant findings of the research. If we intend to encourage participation in local and neighborhood schools through self-initiated community organizations, the schools must be tied to the overall issue of community development.

ISSUE FOCUS

Since the purpose of this research was to focus on community organizations in educational decisionmaking, the selection process was designed to include primarily school-issue-only organizations. For comparative purposes, at least one multipurpose organization in each city was included.

The selection process produced eight multipurpose organizations (see table 3-25). This reflected the growing importance of multipurpose organizations. The large number of such organizations also stemmed from a problem in definition. In our initial site visits, we were told that certain organizations were involved in "education." However, the identification of those active organizations resulted in selection of either mandated or service delivery organizations. This reflected the actual state of organizational activity since respondents were unable to identify school issue organizations which were involved in advocacy.

The selection of the multipurpose organizations was intended to focus on those involved in school issues. In some cases we were also told that certain organizations would be increasingly involved in school issues, an intention they did not live up to.

Table 3-25. Organizations by issue focus.

Issue focus	Organizations
School-issue only	Peachtrees, Omnis, Yankees, Fenways, Dodgers, Margaritas, Sunsets, Venturas
Multipurpose	Braves, Falcons, Grits, Magnolias, Patriots, Commons, Celtics, Lakers

This issue distinction was clear-cut in all cases except one. The Venturas represented a multipurpose organization that had a separate subunit which focused only on school issues. For purposes of this review, the Venturas were treated as a school-issue-only organization since a majority of the research procedures were conducted with that subunit. Therefore we treated eight organizations as school-issue and eight as multipurpose organizations.

One of the most striking results of the selection process was that the four organizations classified as middle-to-upper income were all school-issue-only, while only four lower-income organizations were school-issue-only and of those four, three were mandated. In addition to this dearth of school-issue organizations, of the four lower-income organizations, only one can be classified as involved in any advocacy activities. The Margaritas, a mandated organization, pursued an advocacy-advisory strategy, although their activities were primarily limited to issues of concern to the Hispanic community. This contrasts with the four middle-to-upper-income organizations, three of which pursued an advocacy strategy. If our organizational selection is at all reflective of overall trends in organizational activity--and we must assume it is--we see that in lower-income communities school issues do not generate sufficient interest to support community organizations. This contrasts sharply with the proliferation of school-oriented advocacy groups functioning in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Conversely, middle-to-upper income advocacy organizations continue to ensure that their values and positions are transmitted to school officials. One of the major shortcomings of this study was the decision not to examine the ad hoc organizations which might have been more reflective of the manner in which lower-income communities related to school activities. Although we investigated the anti-busing groups in Boston and Los Angeles as possible models for study, they were rejected in favor of what we understood to be more broadly-purposed school groups.

The primary importance of issue distinction is to indicate differences in the priority issues with which the organizations deal. Over the course of the research interviews, we have used questionnaires and organizational meeting observations to generate data on each organization's major issues. Naturally, one of the results of this analysis was that school-issue only organizations spent a greater percentage of their time on school issues than did the multi-purpose organizations. Beyond this finding, the pattern of the results shows significant differences both in the range of issues dealt with and in the activities which resulted from those decisions.

The issue orientation of the organizations is also reflected in the memberships' responses to questionnaire item 27: "What have been the major issues of the organization over the past year?" In the multipurpose organizations, three indicated that school issues were the priority. It is interesting to note that some cross-over exists between orientation as measured by the responses to this question. Two school-issue organizations (the Fenways and the Dodgers, both mandated organizations) listed community development as a priority. This point supports the observation that the primary focus of neighborhood organizations was community development.

The analysis of the meeting observation reports indicates that little discussion occurred of issues outside education (although one organization was involved in a controversy over a neighborhood park, which took significant amounts of meeting time). This finding may indicate that community development organizations viewed schools as an aspect of overall community development.

The findings of the leadership questionnaires also reflect this difference on issue orientation. Item 27 of the leadership questionnaire asked the respondents "What specific issues has your organization been involved with?" If we combine the responses regarding school issues and contrast them with the responses related to community development issues, the distinction is quite evident. Of the school-issue-only organizations, six of seven showed the majority or all of the responses as school-policy issues. Of the multi-issue organizations, all show the majority of their activity to have been in the non-school-issue school categories; indeed, only two multipurpose organizations (the Braves and the Patriots) showed any involvement with school-policy issues. The perceptions of those individuals interviewed in the first phase of the study--that these multipurpose organizations were involved in school issues--turned out to be incorrect. While we are unable to determine historically why these organizations have developed the reputations they have, our observation is that these reputations were based on the individual contacts between members and individual decisionmakers rather than on organizational activities.

Finally, we see those responses to the leadership interviews which show a regular pattern of school-issue organizations focusing on the school system with a great deal of specificity. These can be compared with multi-issue organizations, which show the schools as a secondary priority (see Appendix F: Interview Data for a complete rundown of the interview responses). The overall pattern of responses to the interviews and questionnaires indicates that our organizations clearly reflected the expected pattern of differences in orientation.

One interesting difference among organizations reflected by the issue orientation is the reason for which an organization adopted its issue focus. The school-issue organizations generally identified "problems in the school system" as the primary reason for their focus on school issues. In comparison, the multi-issue organizations identified "the social and economic needs of the community" as their primary reason for issue adoption.

In terms of the attitudes of the members of the organizations, the data indicated few differences among organizations but differences in the perceived role of the organizations. Membership questionnaire item 33 asked the respondents to "indicate your feelings about the involvement and influence of your organization in the areas of budget, personnel and curriculum." Table 3-26 indicates the responses to this multiple question.

The questionnaires were formatted so that respondents who checked "has impact" did not check "should have impact." Therefore the heading "should have impact or has impact" includes responses to both the "has impact" and "should have impact" categories.

Table 3-26 indicates that the organizations generally did not feel that they have impact on major policy issues. While respondents, regardless of classification, felt that they should have impact, overall, the school-issue organizations show higher levels of perceived impact. Most important in these responses was that members of multipurpose organizations were interested in being included in decisions regarding school policy. This finding seems to contradict the idea that residents of lower-income communities have no interest in school issues (all the multi-issue organizations were in lower-income neighborhoods). This high level of interest holds out the promise that if attempts were made to include representatives of these organizations or communities in school policy formation, despite the current low priority attached to school system issues, there would be a positive response.

Table 3-26. Organizational response to selected school-issue questions, by organizational focus.

Organizational focus	Organization has impact		Should have impact or has impact	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
On budget issues				
School-issue	3	4	7	0
Multi-issue	1	6	6	1
On curriculum issues				
School-issue	3	4	7	0
Multi-issue	2	5	6	1
On personnel issues				
On teacher issues/appointments				
School-issue	2	5	6	1
Multi-issue	1	6	6	1
On selection of principals				
School-issue	3	6	6	1
Multi-issue	1	6	6	1

The other area in which we anticipated discovering differences was in the contacts with the school system and school-system decisionmakers. The networking results have indicated some elementary differences between the two issue-type orientations. The primary distinction between the categories is that multi-issue organizations were in contact with other multi-issue advocacy organizations (see Chapter V: Networking and Organizational Effectiveness), while school-issue organizations limit their contacts largely to other school-issue organizations. Generally, in terms of networking, no other clear patterns occur between these two categories.

However, from the perspective of the organizations' leaderships, there appeared to be important differences in the patterns of contacts with the school system. In fact, the multi-issue organizations all claimed to have regular contacts with the school administration while two school-issue organizations indicated that they do not have such contacts (leadership questionnaire, items 12 and 12a).

Table 3-27. Regular contacts between organizations and school administrations, by issue focus of organization.

Issue focus of organization	Regular contacts with schools	
	Yes	No
School-issue	5	2
Multi-issue	7	0

Table 3-28. Regular liaison with the school administration, by issue focus of organization.

Issue focus of organization	Regular liaison with schools	
	Yes	No
School-issue	5	2
Multi-issue	6	1

When asked if the organization was in regular contact with the local education agency (question 36), all organizations responded "yes" except one which gave no response. When asked if the local education agency was a source of information for the organization (question 38), again, all organizations responded "yes" except for one, which gave a "no" response.

What we see here is a regular pattern of contact with the education bureaucracy by both school-issue-only and multi-issue organizations. When combined with the attitudinal questions, we see a suggestion that the members of these multi-issue organizations, rather than ignoring school issues or making them a very low priority, wished to be involved in educational policy questions and worked at keeping open the channels of information and access to the educational decisionmaking bodies.

However, despite this interest on the part of multi-issue organizations in school decisionmaking, we see that they did not feel that they had impact on the decisionmaking process. Table 2-26 indicates this perceived lack of impact. Additionally, the membership questionnaires indicated higher perceptions of effectiveness in influencing school issues among members of school-issue organizations (membership questionnaire, item 32).

Table 3-29. Members' perceptions of organizational effectiveness in influencing school issues, by issue focus of organization.

Issue focus of organization	Members' responses:		
	Very effective	Somewhat effective	No effect
School-issue	5	2	1
Multi-issue	1	3	1

Finally, the leaders of the organizations indicated differences in their perceptions of the type of influence their organizations had on school issues (leadership questionnaire, item 40a).

Table 3-30. Impact of organization on school system, by issue focus of organization, and by number of responses.

Issue focus of organization	Changes in major policy areas (e.g., budget)	Changes in specific school policies	Increasing contacts with school officials
School-issue	5	0	13
Multi-issue	0	7	6

As table 3-30 indicates, leaders of school-issue organizations were the only respondents who indicated that their organizations had impact by changing major policy issues. Leaders of multi-issue organizations felt that, in some cases, they were able to influence specific policies (e.g., suspensions). Finally, the respondents from school-issue organizations were more likely to indicate that the organizations' impact was shown by an increase in the number of contacts they had with educational officials.

Contrasted to these perceptions of the members and leaders of the 16 organizations are those of the decisionmakers we interviewed. The decisionmakers' interview schedule asked the respondents (a majority of whom were inside the school system) to list the organizations they had been in contact with on the major issues confronting the school system. The first-round responses showed strong evidence of the importance of contacts with middle-class and mandated organizations. In Atlanta, the respondents listed the Peachtrees and the Omnis, both school-issue, middle-to-upper-income organizations. In Boston, the Yankees, a school-issue, middle-to-upper-income organization, were mentioned by three respondents while the Patriots and the Commons, multi-issue, lower-income organizations, were mentioned once. In Los Angeles, the Margaritas, a mandated organization, were listed four times; the Dodgers, another mandated organization, twice. When decisionmakers were asked what organizations they seek out, their answers indicated that they focused entirely on school-issue-only organizations, either mandated or middle-to-upper income. In Atlanta, the Peachtrees were actively sought out; in Boston, the Yankees and the Fenways, and in Los Angeles, the Margaritas.

This range of evidence indicates an extremely significant pattern. Generally, all the respondents, regardless of issue orientation (or any other variable), felt that they should be involved in the formation of education policy. Secondly, we see that all the organizations sought to keep open channels of access to both information and decisionmakers within the school system.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has focused on four different organizational typologies: strategy, geographic scope, issue orientation, and economic class. The major findings of the analysis of these four factors relate to the importance of strategy and economic class. It is unfortunate that in the 16 organizations in this study, strategy and economic class distinctions matched so closely with three of the four middle-to-upper-income organizations adopting an advocacy strategy, while all the lower-income organizations used a service, advisory or mixed strategy. While this may actually reflect a general pattern, we are unable to examine these categories separately to determine which might prove more valuable in analyzing organization behavior.

With this constraint in mind, both the strategy and income distinctions prove useful in examining organizational functioning. Both illustrate different membership, leadership, and funding patterns as well as external differences, especially in terms of the relative importance and extent of networking activities.

An important finding indicated by this analysis is the emphasis on the service and advisory strategies found in lower-income communities. As we have suggested previously, this indicates that the level and types of support necessary to maintain an advocacy organization were limited in lower-income communities. Those organizations which hope to survive, even if they began as advocacy organizations, must seek some form of external support; a condition which ultimately appears to result in their abandonment of the advocacy role.

Because of the small number of organizations in the study which have undergone major changes, we are unable to determine precisely whether the organizational characteristics we identified were the cause or effect of strategy within an economic class. However, the two cases discussed in the introduction to this chapter suggest that it is an organization's strategy which determines its most significant internal characteristics, as well as external activities in which the organization engages to pursue its goals. This reinforces our conclusion that an examination of an organization's strategy is central to an analysis of its behavior.

The effects of race and class are a topic which this study has not been able to concentrate on due to the limited number of organizations analyzed in the study. As we noted in the introduction, two middle-to-upper black organizations declined to participate, and our final selection contained only one such organization. However, the site researchers were able to observe the two organizations which declined to participate and with their observation and our analysis of organizations we can make a preliminary analysis.

The first point is that these three black middle-to-upper-income organizations adopted strategies which paralleled the white middle-to-upper-income organizations in our study; all three can be considered advocacy organizations. The second point is that both groups of middle-to-upper-income organizations relied heavily on their ability to network with decisionmakers as a primary tool to meet their goals. This analysis supports the position that class is a key variable. Yet significant differences existed between the white and black organizations. While the black organizations were able to function externally in a manner similar to that of the white organizations, their internal characteristics bore little relation to those of the white organizations. The three black organizations could all be characterized as having constant leadership; a pattern different from the white organizations which showed a rotating pattern. The black organizations were little more than their leadership; in fact, their leaders often became spokespersons for the black community and were actively sought by key decisionmakers. The black organizations were able to mirror the white organizations in terms of strategy and external behavior, but not in terms of the development of an internal organizational structure. The issue of class appeared significant, but did not account for the internal characteristics of these three black organizations.

The ability or interest of multipurpose organizations to involve themselves in school issues was perhaps the major finding of our issue orientation analysis. Previous researchers have found that schools are generally a low priority for such organizations. However, our research has indicated that the members of those organizations were interested in school policy questions and felt that they should be consulted in the decisionmaking process. The major roadblock to involving these neighborhood organizations appears to be the perception of the decisionmakers that they were receiving the necessary input from mandated organizations. Our analysis of the issue orientation and geographic scope of the organization also suggests that multipurpose organizations will have to be viewed as a primary source of participants if the school system decisionmaking process is to be sufficiently opened to meet the needs of a broadly shared policymaking process.

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Chapter III

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IV.

CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The internal structure of an organization's leadership and that of its membership are assumed to be significant determinants of the ability of an organization to be effective. These internal characteristics are, at a minimum, decisive factors in how the organization functions and in its selection of means of survival. They also can influence strategies and perceptions of goal fulfillment. Our data illustrate some of the interrelationships among these elements and their role and limitations in influencing organization behavior.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

- The organizations display four leadership types: rotating, constant, externally-imposed, and staff. The rotating leadership model contains the greatest potential for leadership training, and is common to middle-to-upper income organizations.

- The leadership forms which predominate in lower-income organizations are externally-imposed (for mandated organizations); forms which generally do not provide for any meaningful leadership training.

- The organizations also show differences in terms of membership; there are three models evident: voluntary, representational, and client. The voluntary model results in members being more actively involved in the organization activities including attendance at meetings; however, in this sample of organizations, the model is restricted to the middle-to-upper income advocacy organizations.

- The membership models which are prevalent in lower-income communities are the representational and client models; models which do not involve the members actively in the organizations' efforts.

- The leadership and membership forms which are found in lower-income communities offer participants minimal material incentives and only limited purposive incentives.

- The organizations place little emphasis on internal democracy. The mandated and service organizations which place less emphasis on organizational meetings place less emphasis on internal democracy.

- Organizations which pursue advocacy strategies provide greater potential for the development of internally democratic procedures.

LEADERSHIP

The importance of leadership in directing the activities and shaping the effectiveness of an organization cannot be overstated. To the extent that leaders shape the internal agendas of organizations and project their images and goals to the community and decisionmakers, they are key determinants of organization effectiveness (Burns, 1978; Wilson, 1973). Moreover, community organizations have historically been viewed as training grounds for the development of leadership skills (Ambrecht, 1976). In middle-income communities, a leadership role in a voluntary association has been considered a valuable credential (Prewitt, 1970). In lower-income communities, community organizations are often the only institutions through which individuals can gain leadership experience. Therefore, we view leadership as important from several perspectives: it is instrumental in the operation of the organization and represents the organization to the broader community; and it serves as a training ground for future community leaders.

In examining the 16 organizations participating in this study, we saw the emergence of four different leadership patterns: (1) rotating leadership, (2) leadership structure largely imposed by an external institution, (3) constant, consistent, continuing leadership, and (4) staff leadership.

Our study showed rotating leadership to be generally associated with voluntary organizations. In this model, members elect leaders. They retain their positions for one or two terms and then a new leadership is elected. The previous leaders, however remain in the organization using their knowledge and experience to help the organization to achieve its goals. Both past and future leaders generally devote a good deal of time to the organization. Though this model provides for circulation or alternation of leadership, it does not necessarily provide for diversity in the type of leadership.

The imposed leadership pattern in some ways parallels the rotating model. In both cases, leaders are generally elected by the membership, for a mixed term, with reelection possible at any time. What distinguishes the imposed pattern is that the leadership positions, the term of office, and the issue agenda of the organization are determined primarily by the mandating agency. Our review of mandated organizations indicated that, in most cases, the mandating institution closely prescribed the form and function of the organization, including those eligible for leadership.

The constant leadership model contains two different leadership patterns. First, it includes the charismatic leader. In this case, the organization may be very limited in membership or may even be a paper creation. The leader is the organization. Such organizations may have a substantial reputation; however, such recognition is a function of charismatic leadership. These organizations are dependent on the reputation of the leader and cannot function without him or her.

Many traditional organizations which do not depend on active memberships have adopted the constant model. These organizations may have highly visible leaders who have developed a reputation in the community. They often remain in their leadership positions for long periods of time. A distinction between this pattern and the charismatic pattern may lie in the relative importance of organizational maintenance. The constant leadership pattern reflects a strong emphasis on organizational continuity without focusing on membership. The charismatic leader, with some notable exceptions, may tend to be more issue-oriented and serve more as an advocate than the traditional leaders, who may be considered part of the system.

The importance of staff leadership has grown as a result of the increasing number of service organizations. These organizations require trained staff to administer their programs and provide services. The staff, who are paid, become the major developers of organizational policy. Additionally, these staff members represent the organization externally, to other organizations and decisionmakers. The primary forum for organizational decisionmaking in staff-led organizations is more often staff meetings than membership meetings. The technical requirements of generating funding and meeting reporting criteria tend to remove the staff further from traditional organizational membership. Staff members are generally hired for their technical competence rather than for their ties to the members or the community.

Certain relationships between the patterns should be noted. In the rotating and imposed patterns, the leadership is relatively weak vis-a-vis the organization's membership. If a leader resigns, a new one can be found to take his or her place. Both models require an identifiable membership with at least a minimum number of active members.

Conversely, organizations with constant and staff leadership are much more dependent on leadership for organizational maintenance. In both cases, membership can be inactive or even nonexistent; they are not a resource for leaders. In these patterns, it is the leaders who represent the organization externally, to the community, or serve as voices for the community. In organizations with rotating or imposed leaderships, a number of different individuals may perform these functions.

For the 16 organizations participating in this study, the imposed and staff patterns of leadership appeared most frequently.

Table 4-1. Distribution of leadership patterns among organizations.

Leadership pattern	Organization
Rotating	Peachtrees, Venturas
Imposed	Falcons, Commons, Fenways, Dodgers
Constant	Omnis, Magnolias
Staff	Grits, Patriots, Yankees, Celtics, Sunsets, Lakers
Mixed:	
Imposed-staff	Margaritas
Constant-staff	Braves

Table 4-1 highlights certain key leadership issues. First, the two organizations with rotating leadership were both middle-to-upper income. The Omnis are designated here as having constant leadership. They were a relatively new organization and had not yet fully developed their leadership pattern. As a middle-to-upper-income organization they may eventually reflect the rotating pattern. Second, the predominance of the staff and imposed patterns of leadership reflect the importance of these organizational forms in lower-income communities. Finally, the three organizations with constant or constant-staff leadership patterns are all based in Atlanta. This in part reflects the nature of community organizations in Atlanta: our research has indicated that organizations in that city have unusual relationships with the major political and economic institutions. The organizations which work with the system gain a degree of legitimacy and support; this results in the organizations gaining stable places within the system. Perhaps as a result of this degree of acceptability, organizations may not be required to expend major efforts to develop a membership base.

The importance of an organization's leadership is attested to by the responses to the membership questionnaires. These responses indicate the importance of leaders' approval prior to any activity by the organization (membership questionnaire, item 15a).

Table 4-2. Leaders' approval required prior to organizational action by leadership patterns of organizations.

Leadership Pattern	By percent: Agree*	By percent: Disagree*
Rotating	95	5
Imposed	37	63
Constant	67	33
Staff	49	51
Mixed:		
Imposed-staff	50	50
Constant-staff	89	11

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*"Agree" and "Disagree" responses include "Strongly agree" and "strongly disagree."

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Table 4-2 suggests that leadership approval is required to a greater extent in the organizations with rotating and constant leadership patterns than in those favoring other patterns. The organizations which these leadership patterns represent are all citizen-initiated, as compared with organizations having the imposed or staff-led leadership. These show higher degrees of external dependence. This indicates that a higher degree of membership-leadership concurrence is necessary on issues, as compared with the more externally-dependent organizations--in which the leadership is less tied to the membership.

This distinction is shown, although less clearly, through responses to membership questionnaire, item 15b.

Table 4-3. Leaders often take action without consulting with members, by leadership patterns of organizations.

Leadership pattern	By percent: Agree	Disagree
Rotating	28	72
Imposed	36	64
Constant	0	100
Staff	43	57
Mixed:		
Imposed-staff	50	50
Constant-staff	30	70

Table 4-3 suggests that, regardless of leadership type, organization members feel that the leaders often take actions independently. However, the rotating- and constant-leadership organizations again indicated somewhat closer relations between the members and the leaders since there are fewer "Agree"* responses to these categories (see Footnote, p. 78).

Members generally appear to feel that leaders discharge their roles as spokespersons of their organizations adequately (membership questionnaire, item 12). Only four organizations indicated any negative responses, and in only one case were the majority of responses negative.

One other finding should be noted. When the members of the eight organizations which have paid staff were asked if those staffs were important in decisionmaking, in all cases respondents answered that they were either important or very important (membership questionnaire, item 16a).

We have noted the importance of leadership training as a goal of lower-income organizations. However, our data indicate that the organizational leadership models which predominated in the lower-income organizations did not provide for such training. One measure of the training available was the number of different leadership positions current organizational leaders have held. The data indicated that the rotating pattern of leadership exposes the individual to a greater probability of holding organizational leadership positions. If we analyze the data by the economic class of the organization, we see that 50 percent of the middle-to-upper-income respondents have held other leadership positions, while only 26 percent of those from lower-income organizations have done so (leadership questionnaire, item 5).

An interesting and somewhat more encouraging finding regarding leadership training is the emphasis which lower-income organizations place on committees in the decisionmaking process. Decisionmaking by committee is a mechanism which serves to increase shared roles and thus to increase the pool of prospective leaders (leadership questionnaire, item 35).

Table 4-4. Decisionmaking responsibility within the organization, by leadership pattern of organizations.

Leadership pattern	Decisionmaker:		
	Leadership	Committee	Membership
Rotating	2	-	2
Imposed	2	2	1
Constant	2	2	2
Staff	4	3	4
Mixed:			
Imposed-staff	1	-	1
Constant-staff	1	1	1

While recognizing that the data in table 4-4 are from the leaders' perspective and leaders are perhaps more likely than the membership to see broader involvement, recognition of the committee role is important to leadership development. When the data are analyzed in terms of the economic class of the organization, the results are more impressive, as shown in table 4-5.

Table 4-5. Decisionmaking responsibility within the organization by income class of organization.

Income class of organization	Decisionmaker:		
	Leadership	Committee	Membership
Middle-to-upper income	4	1	4
Lower income	8	7	7

This analysis of the data begins to indicate basic relationships between the leadership modes. Paul Peterson, of the University of Chicago, has suggested the following schema to relate the leadership models.

Chart 4-1. Relationships between leadership models.

	Self-sufficient	Externally dependent
Weak; not crucial for organizational maintenance	Rotating	Imposed
Strong; crucial for organizational maintenance	Constant	Professional

This chart indicates the fundamental leadership issues. First, as tables 4-2 and 4-3 suggest, a relationship exists between rotating and constant leadership; there appears to be a closer tie between membership and leadership in these relatively self-sufficient organizations, as compared with organizations more dependent on external support. Second, we note that the constant and professional categories are related in that they are central to the organization's operation and continuation. Peterson noted that a change in an organization's dependence on external support would significantly affect that organization's leadership style. If a previously self-sufficient organization becomes dependent on external support, the previously constant leadership pattern will become increasingly professionalized and bureaucratized. The Yankees and the Sunsets are examples of organizations which have undergone such changes. In both cases, the characteristic response occurred; previously charismatic leaders became increasingly concerned with administrative details, reporting and developing new funding sources. As this process continued, the leadership became more narrowly focused on staff and funding issues, and further removed from the membership. Unfortunately, we have no examples of organizations with rotating leadership which increased their level of external support to the extent that it altered their leadership style. However, we can project that the process would not be direct; rather, a small group would become responsible for the development of funding proposals and this activity might move the organization from the rotating to constant leadership pattern category.

Finally, the schema indicates the precarious nature of mandated organizations: imposed leadership is both weak and externally dependent. Should the external support be removed, the organization would either have to develop another source of external support or attempt to continue on a self-sufficient basis. Continuation on a self-sufficient basis would be extremely difficult for mandated organizations which lack a real membership base. Our analysis of leadership patterns strongly suggests that mandated organizations will not survive if their tie to the mandating institution is removed--their own best intentions to the contrary.

If any additional evidence were needed to support the schema, the two organizations which reflected mixed patterns of leadership showed related characteristics. If an organization showed a mixed pattern of rotating and staff, or constant and imposed leadership, the relationships in the schema would be called into question. However, both organizations showed related characteristics: constant and staff leadership (strong) and imposed and staff leadership (externally dependent).

While the different leadership models are interesting in and of themselves, their relationship to organizational effectiveness is of greater significance. What leadership characteristics are of more importance in representing members in lower-income communities or allowing for the development of new leaders within the community or organization? In a real sense, there is a basic contradiction in leadership needs in lower-income communities: strong, highly visible, charismatic leaders are necessary to dramatize issues and to rally the support of large numbers of people--the basic resource of lower-income organizations. At the same time charismatic leaders do not generally spend their time developing tightly administered organizations.

Even recognizing the value of both the constant and rotating leadership models, the majority of our organizations did not pursue leadership strategies which appeared to lead to empowering their organization. The lower-income organizations in this study showed the mandated and staff leadership patterns (see table 4-1).

Table 4-6. Lower-income organizations, by leadership patterns.

Leadership pattern	Organization
Rotating	- - -
Imposed	Falcons, Commons, Fenways, Dodgers
Constant	Magnolias
Staff	Grits, Patriots, Celtics, Sunsets, Lakers
Mixed:	
Imposed-staff	Margaritas
Constant-staff	Braves

In analyzing the two predominant patterns in lower-income organizations as seen in table 4-6, we see one of the main causes of the lack of organizational activity in those communities. The imposed leadership structure is inherently weak. External dependence is more than a leadership issue; it establishes an organization's agenda and limits its impact. Moreover, the leadership structure as defined in the leadership schema is weak and the organization is limited in its ability to represent the community. Although the leadership in mandated organizations may rotate, the limits and control of the mandate and the lack of visibility in the community probably limit leadership training activities. Moreover, our research has indicated that in most cases such organizations do not develop strongly the leadership which might provide a basis for organizational existence after the external mandate is removed.

The staff leadership pattern also showed significant weaknesses. First, the majority of the organizations which have staff leadership are engaged in the provision of services to individuals. The organization's emphasis on individual services is contradictory to the need for the establishment of collective strength and goals. The emphasis that such staff leadership must place on maintenance functions detracts from an organization's ability to pursue those activities which will bring it increased collective strength.

In lower-income communities both these leadership models showed high levels of external dependence; this accounts for much of their weakness. Peterson has suggested, and we agree, that incentive theory accounts for many of the weaknesses these two models bring to lower-income organizations. The middle-to-upper-income organizations, which showed greater emphasis on rotating leadership, were able to offer the range of incentives necessary to bring into the organization a membership which had the ability to play leadership roles. The middle-class organizations were able to offer individual status and incentives to those who joined. Additionally, because such organizations were generally highly visible and in contact with decision-makers, they offered the individual the opportunity to pursue desired personal goals.

In the lower-income organizations, we saw that few such incentives were available. Participation in a lower-income organization did not confer status on the individual. As Chapters V (Networks and Organizational Effectiveness) and VI (Organizational Policy Goals) will show, these organizations were generally not visible or highly networked, nor were they perceived as effective. As a result, such organizations had few status incentives to offer. Purposive incentives which could provide the impetus for organizational development require an advocacy orientation and less emphasis on organization maintenance. Unfortunately, the trend among lower-class population was away from advocacy and towards service and mandated organizations.

The other perspective from which we examined leadership was that of the leadership pattern and organization strategy.

Table 4-7. Distribution of organizations, by leadership pattern and by strategy.

Leadership pattern	Organizational strategy				
	Advocacy	Service	Advisory	Advocacy-service	Advocacy-advisory
Rotating	2	-	-	-	-
Imposed	-	-	3	-	1
Constant	1	-	-	1	-
Staff	-	4	-	2	-
Mixed:					
Imposed-staff	-	-	-	-	1
Constant-staff	-	-	-	1	-

Table 4-7 indicates that the three organizations which pursued advocacy strategies all had leadership patterns which represented organizations which--in terms of the leadership schema--were relatively self-sufficient. The obvious implication is that dependence on an external source limited the ability of an organization to play an advocacy role (note that all three organizations are middle-to-upper income).

We wish to note certain specific features of organizations that pursued mixed strategies which, however, included some advocacy activities. Two mandated organizations showed mixed strategies. The first (the Commons, advocacy-advisory, imposed leadership) is a mandated housing organization which has worked on a number of issues of interest to area residents. Its advocacy activities were oriented towards attendance and presentations at public meetings, and information dissemination. The second mandated organization (the Margaritas, advocacy-advisory, imposed-staff leadership) is perhaps the most active mandated organization. The availability of paid staff, hired and primarily responsible to the organization, allowed the organization to pursue issues more intensively than did other mandated organizations. The fact that a staff member was full time resulted in a more regular and complete information flow. Finally, the visibility of the staff member and the reputation the organization enjoyed as "comparatively effective" resulted in greater interest on the part of members.

The advocacy-service organizations showed some patterns which may result in generating greater collective strength. One organization (the Magnolias, advocacy-service, constant leadership) served as a political forum for politicians to meet members of their community. While the organization made some attempts to ensure that the politicians were responsive, there was a perception that the organization did little more than serve as a forum. The constant leadership was traditional and the organization showed clear splits as new leaders attempted to increase their role but were rebuffed by the older leaders. The second advocacy-service organization (the Patriots, advocacy-service, staff leadership) served as a voice for a particular racial/ethnic group. While its activities included service delivery and community development, it was also active in lobbying for programs to meet area residents' needs. Finally, one organization functioned primarily through a number of different units (the Braves, advocacy-service, constant-staff leadership) which served different purposes. Each part was free to pursue its own strategy. As a result, we have an organization which pursues confrontation strategies (the only organization to indicate confrontation as a strategy), legal recourse, and the provision of services.

This mixed pattern of advocacy and service appears to hold some promise for organizations in lower-income communities. The service aspect allows for the development of a staff, and service to clients. The strength of this strategy comes if the organization can make the transition to using the service base for developing an advocacy role.*

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*Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) represents an example of this approach. The Braves are the only organization in this study which follow this model.

The leadership of such a multistrategy organization also requires a number of different characteristics. Most important is the need for a charismatic leader; a leader who will be able to mobilize a large constituency. Second, is the need for key leaders to play a recurrent role in the organization--even though other leaders may move in and out. Finally, there is the need for leadership training (Wellstone, 1978).

MEMBERSHIP

The membership base is the most critical element of a self-initiated community organization. We began this research with a traditional conception of voluntary organizations in which members joined the organization because it reflected their interests and allowed them to work towards a common set of goals. Our research shows there are significantly different conceptions of membership, all fundamental to understanding the way organizations function.

The traditional concept holds membership as essential to an organization's life; as an entity, it is primarily concerned with sustaining its membership.

A second concept is membership as representation; a model which applies primarily to the mandated organizations. In these cases, the membership characteristics are largely determined by the institution mandating the organization. Individuals serve in these organizations generally as the result of elections; their function is to represent the positions of those in the community the mandating agency wishes to influence. The organization exists primarily to serve as a bridge between the system and the community. This relationship puts a special emphasis on the ability of the elected organization member to make contact with the community. Rather than functioning as an individual member, he or she is viewed as representing a racial, ethnic or geographic community.

Another concept of membership, the most expansive, includes clients and potential clients. The service organizations reflect this concept of membership: they are engaged in outreach activities generally conducted on a neighborhood scale. Normally the program activities are open to anyone in the community, regardless of any other contact or lack of contact with the organization. These organizations may view their members as those who need the services they provide, although they may not have any formal membership lists. The three membership concepts were represented among the organizations in the study as shown in table 4-8.

The breakdown of organizations by membership shows certain interesting features. First, the three voluntary organizations were all middle-to-upper-income; the mixed organization was the fourth middle-to-upper-income organization. This finding supports the idea that the traditional concept of membership in the self-initiated community organization is not pervasive in lower-class communities.

Table 4-8. Organizations, by membership type.

Membership type	Organizations
Voluntary	Peachtrees, Omnis, Venturas
Representational	Falcons, Commons, Fenways, Dodgers, Margaritas, Lakers
Client	Braves, Grits, Magnolias, Patriots, Celtics, Sunsets
Mixed:	
Voluntary-client	Yankees

Second, in the membership analysis, all the mandated organizations displayed similar characteristics. While they may show multiple leadership patterns or pursue different strategies, they all have the same membership base. The Lakers had the same type of membership as the mandated organizations. They were part of a federated structure in which a national private agency established local organizations. In this sense they functioned as a mandated organization although they were not tied to a governmental agency.

There were natural relationships between the membership and leadership concepts, as shown in table 4-9.

Table 4-9. Organizational leadership and memberships.

	Leadership pattern					
Membership type	Rotating	Imposed	Constant	Staff	Imposed staff	Constant staff
Voluntary	2	-	1	-	-	-
Representational	-	4	-	1	1	-
Client	-	-	1	4	-	1
Mixed:						
Voluntary-client	-	-	-	1	-	-

Table 4-9 indicates the three major relationships discernible between leadership and membership. The voluntary organization with rotating leadership was the first pattern; both organizations in this category were middle class. The second pattern was representational membership, which had an imposed-leadership structure. The final model had a client basis and staff leadership.

Membership Patterns and Organizational Involvement

The size of the organization appears to be a function of its membership basis (leadership questionnaire, item 17).

Table 4-10. Organizational membership size, by membership type.

Membership type	Membership size Less than 50	51-100	101-200	201+	NR
Voluntary	-	1	-	2	-
Representational	5	1	-	-	-
Client	1	-	1	2	2
Mixed:					
Voluntary-client	-	-	-	1	-

Table 4-10 suggests three significant points. First, the voluntary organizations, which--as we have noted--are dependent on their membership, show generally high membership. The one voluntary organization which shows a membership of 51-100 is relatively new and may undergo further growth (it is also black, middle-to-upper income and if the patterns discussed in Chapter II hold, it may remain limited to visible leaders). Second, we note that representational organizations have the narrowest membership base. Finally, the client membership suggests the nonspecific membership in such organizations. The two organizations (the Grits and Celtics) which did not respond to this question viewed their entire neighborhoods as their membership.

The membership pattern also appears to influence the level of involvement members have with the organization (membership questionnaire, item 8), as shown in table 4-11.

Table 4-11. Number of meetings members attended, by type of membership.

Membership type	Number of meetings members attended 0 - 10	11 - 20	21 or more
Voluntary	5	6	2
Representational	21	2	8
Client	8	2	14
Mixed:			
Voluntary-client	5	0	0

The most striking feature of table 4-11 is that members in representational organizations show the least degree of involvement with the organization, as measured by the number of meetings attended. The members of voluntary organizations show somewhat higher levels of involvement. The extremely high number of respondents from client organizations who indicated that they had attended 21 or more meetings is partly explained by the response from the Grits and Celtics organizations. These two organizations have no formal membership, therefore the questionnaires were distributed to staff members who attended regular meetings. If the responses from these two organizations are removed from table 4-11, of the 14 responses in the

21 or more category, only eight will remain.

Regardless of membership bases, all organizations (with the exception of the Grits) stated that they recruited new members (leadership questionnaire, item 18). When leaders were asked if there were any qualifications for membership in the organization (leadership questionnaire, item 18b), most responded by identifying a common interest; either in school issues or community development. However, two organizations indicated that they had no requirements. As might be anticipated, both these organizations had voluntary membership.

The relationship between membership and funding also shows some predictable patterns (leadership questionnaire, item 15). The three voluntary organizations relied entirely on dues and donations and did not receive funds from any other source. This contrasts with both representational and client organizations, which showed a much greater dependence on grants, foundations, and government funds.

The membership concept also is related to the types of maintenance activities that organizations pursue. All organizations spend significant organizational meeting time on maintenance activities. However, the average figures obscure differences in types of maintenance concerns. Voluntary organizations were more concerned with publicity and networking activities. Representational organizations tended to be concerned with filling vacancies and membership elections. Client organizations were mostly concerned with additional funding sources and staff issues.

As in our discussion of leadership, we also see that in terms of membership concept, the lower-income organizations--because of their limited resources--have difficulty in maintaining the organization, increasing reliance on external sources and reducing advocacy activities.

INTERNAL DEMOCRACY

Historically, the role of community organizations has been linked to the enhancement of the democratic process. Experience gained within the organization was supposed to serve the larger role of citizenship. Leaders were trained and members became more experienced in the democratic process. For community organizations, these goals were separate from their pursuit of public policy goals. A large body of research on organizations, however, suggests that little internal democracy has been confirmed. Kotler, in a recent unpublished paper, draws on a set of case studies of community organizations and concludes that while the formal documents of the organizations appear to provide protections for the rights of the membership, in practice, membership "...seems to require excessive vigilance" in protecting itself against control by the leadership (Kotler, 1979). Wellstone (1978), in his analysis of a rural community organization, points out that a split occurred in the organization when members felt that it was functioning independently of them.

However, there is a range of opinion on the importance of internal democracy to organizations. Observers such as Piven and Cloward (1977) have questioned the importance of internal democracy, choosing instead to focus on the ability of the organization to pursue policy goals. On the other hand, Perlman criticized the concept of clients as members since such a passive role did not allow participation in organizational activities and training.* It is our assumption that internal practices in an organization determine its effectiveness in achieving a set of important nonpolicy goals. At a minimum we wanted to determine the relationship of these practices to the effectiveness of the organization in setting policy goals and developing strategies.

It is difficult to isolate and generate the types of data that allow for an analysis of internal democracy. In response to direct questioning, representatives are most likely to characterize their organization as "democratic." The leadership interviews reflected this positive response. It was necessary to direct our analysis of internal democracy to an interpretation of the different organizational strategies.

The overall importance attached to internal democracy in the organizations in this study was low. Part of the reason for this was the way in which external support is achieved. Writing proposals and contacting funding officials are not activities which encourage the involvement of the membership. Those organizations which pursue a service strategy do not, as Perlman noted, involve clients in organizational activities which would increase their awareness of major policy issues and the actions necessary to affect those policies. The advisory organizations were generally under no obligation to report to the communities they represent. If they were elected, which was not a general practice, they would probably have had some contact with a constituency. The organizations did not involve their constituency as memberships and did not fulfill a training function.

The measures used to support these findings are the contrasting perceptions of the membership and leadership regarding the internal behavior of the organizations, membership size, and its level of involvement, leadership selection, and the representativeness of the leadership.

Perceptions of Leaders and Members

Leaders' perceptions of their organizations' degrees of internal democracy were fairly positive, as indicated by the responses to the leadership questionnaire. The responses to item 21, the leaders' perceptions of whether or not the organization represents the views of the members, showed a strong positive view with only three respondents questioning the representativeness of the organization.

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*Seminar in New York City, December, 1978.

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Table 4-12. Source of issues, by organizational strategy.

Organizational strategy	(N)	Source of issues Membership	Leadership	Staff
Advocacy	(3)	3	2	1
Service	(4)	2	4	4
Advisory	(2)	2	2	1
Mixed:				
Advocacy-service	(4)	4	4	3
Advocacy-advisory	(2)	2	2	1
	15			

Table 4-13. Source of organizational decisionmaking.

Organizational strategy	Source of decisionmaking Leadership	Committee	Membership
Advocacy	3	1	3
Service	4	2	2
Advisory	1	1	1
Mixed:			
Advocacy-service	2	3	4
Advocacy-advisory	2	1	1

The generally positive view of joint decisionmaking reflected in these responses is a measure of the "outward image" of the organizations, as projected by their leaders. The major break in the overall pattern is made by service organizations. Here we see more emphasis placed on leadership and staff roles and less emphasis placed on membership involvement in the decisionmaking process. With this one exception, however, leaders apparently felt that the decisions made within the organizations included input from both the leadership and membership, that the members were the primary source for designation of organizational issues, and that the views of the leaders represented the views of the members.

In contrast to the rosy picture painted by organization leaders, members' perceptions of the degree of internal democracy were somewhat different.

Table 4-13 indicates that the members felt that the leadership and staff control led the organizational decisionmaking process, and therefore actions were often taken without membership approval.

Membership Involvement in the Organization

The first measure of members' involvement in the organization is membership size. Table 4-10 summarizes the size of the memberships of the organizations in this study, and shows that voluntary organizations tend to have the largest membership base, representational organizations the smallest, with client organizations showing a mixed pattern. Other researchers who have considered the issue of membership size have come to differing conclusions. Olson (1971) indicated that small, voluntary organizations with high degrees of internal cohesion are the most likely to be effective. This research has indicated that lower-income communities do not have the resources to support such organizations. Additionally, the primary resource of those communities in attempting to pursue an advocacy strategy is their ability to generate mass support. In order to generate that broad-based support, lower-income organizations must pursue collective goals (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1974). The organizations in the study did not fit this pattern and, as a result, did not show large memberships.

The second measure of membership involvement is the number of organizational meetings, since it is at meetings that members have the opportunity to involve themselves in the organizational decisionmaking process. A simple comparison of the number of organizational meetings does not take into account the different organizational structures which result from organizational activities. The following table outlines these differences.

Table 4-14. Number of organizational meetings, by organization.

Number of meetings	Organization
No membership meetings	Braves, Grits
Less than one meeting per month	Magnolias, Patriots, Yankees, Commons, Celtics
One or more meetings per month	Peachtrees, Falcons, Omnis, Fenways, Dodgers, Margaritas, Sunsets, Lakers, Venturas

As the table indicates, the predominant frequency of meetings is one per month. All the mandated organizations fell within this pattern except the Commons, which did not meet for a six-month period during the course of the study. Also, all the advocacy organizations fell into this category and, therefore, three of the four middle-to-upper-income organizations. The two organizations that had no membership meetings were entirely staff-run organizations, with no formal membership. Of the five organizations which averaged less than one meeting per month, three were primarily staff-led, and had regular staff and board of directors' meetings. The organization's membership was brought together only once or twice a year, primarily to hear reports. These data suggest members can have only minimal impact on organizational decisionmaking, especially in lower-income communities, since only two self-initiated lower-income organizations averaged one meeting per month.

Data on membership attendance were discussed in a previous section of this chapter. Those data (table 4-11) showed that voluntary members of advocacy organizations were more likely to spend a greater amount of time in organizational meetings. The service and advisory organizations showed less membership involvement.

The level of communication between leaders and members is an additional measure of the involvement of the membership. Our primary measure of this communication is the extent to which the leaders were able to include organization members in their networks. As the networking research indicates (see Chapter V: Networking and Organizational Effectiveness), leaders appeared to do little to transmit their contacts to members.

One break in this overall pattern of a lack of membership involvement is shown by the importance of committees in decisionmaking in lower-income organizations (see table 4-5). The use of committees in decisionmaking, while not a guarantee of increased participation, does at least hold the promise of broader involvement.

Leadership Selection

Another measure of internal democracy is the method of leadership selection (leadership questionnaire, item 3a).

Table 4-15 indicates that those organizations pursuing advocacy or mixed strategy including advocacy were more inclined to elect leaders. We have observed that the larger the number of elected leaders in an organization, the greater the interaction between leadership and membership.

Table 4-15. Leadership selection in organizations, by organizational strategy type.

	Leadership pattern		
Organizational strategy	Appointment	Election	Self-selection
Advocacy	2	5	1
Service	6	8	-
Advisory	5	1	-
Mixed:			
Advocacy-service	6	7	-
Advocacy-advisory	3	5	1

As shown in table 4-16, this distinction in leadership carried over into the length of time individuals remained in their leadership positions (leadership questionnaire, item 4).

Table 4-16. Length of time in current leadership position, by organizational strategy type.

Organizational strategy	Leaders' length of time in office: Less than 1 yr.	1-2 yrs.	3-4 yrs.	4 yrs. +
Advocacy	4	2	1	1
Service	4	7	1	2
Advisory	2	2	1	-
Mixed:				
Advocacy-service	2	3	1	4
Advocacy-advisory	1	7	1	-

Table 4-17. Members having held leadership positions, by organizational strategy type.

Organizational strategy	Yes	No
Advocacy	9	6
Service	11	13
Advisory	9	10
Mixed:		
Advocacy-service	6	7
Advocacy-advisory	4	14

The relative importance of internal democracy to the different organizational strategies reflects the degree of the organizations' external dependence. Voluntary-advocacy organizations are dependent on their membership base and the contacts of the individual members for organizational effectiveness. Service organizations are externally dependent and therefore membership and other internal practices have less priority. In organizations which rely on external support, the need for building internal support, and hence the importance of internal democratic practices, declines.

Representativeness: Leadership and Membership

The compatibility of the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the leadership and membership in an organization reflects the extent to which it is integrated. Internal democracy in voluntary organizations assumes that the leadership and membership have similar backgrounds. The extent to which decisionmaking within the organization is a process that involves leaders and members can, in part, be evaluated in terms of the similarities of the backgrounds of the two groups. Other research has indicated that within organizations, discrepancies exist between leaders and members: leadership is generally more highly educated, younger, more often male, has higher incomes, and is from the same racial/ethnic group as the membership (Perlman, 1976). The findings of this study tend to support only some of these conclusions.

In all but one of the organizations, leaders had a higher level of educational achievement than members, conforming with findings in other studies (leadership questionnaire, item 55; membership questionnaire, item 47). The data indicate that, with the exception of the Braves (constant-staff leadership), leadership consistently showed higher levels of education than membership. The two organizations with rotating leadership differed from this pattern: all the respondents had at least some post-high-school education, a finding which reflects these organizations' middle-to-upper income status.

The age comparison shows a somewhat more mixed pattern (leadership questionnaire, item 58; membership questionnaire, item 50).

As the data indicate, the rotating, staff, and imposed-staff organizations all show a reasonable match between the ages of the leaders and members. The imposed, constant, and mixed constant staff patterns all show significant differences in age. The organizations show no clear overall pattern, and the relationship between those categories which do show consistency do not follow the leadership schema. What can be said is that there is a representative spread of age groups among the organizations and the leaders.

The findings on the sex of members do not relate to leadership patterns (leadership questionnaire, item 57; membership questionnaire, item 49). The organizations in this study all have predominately female memberships. Membership and leadership show relatively similar leadership-membership patterns. Those organizations which evidence a constant leadership pattern, 100 percent of whose members are women, have a 40 percent male leadership pattern. The difference of approximately ten percent which exists in staff-led organizations is in sharp contrast to conclusions in other studies: these showed a lack of women in top staff or leadership roles (Perlman, 1976; Babchuk, et al, 1960). Other studies of lower-income organizations indicate similar widespread female membership (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1974).

The data on personal income are in line with findings in other studies which indicate that leaders have higher incomes than members (leadership questionnaire, item 47; membership questionnaire, item 39). In all categories of organizations, with the exception of constant leadership, in which there were no membership responses, leaders had higher incomes.

In the racial/ethnic classification of leaders, our organizations showed a match between the membership and leadership (leadership questionnaire, item 59; membership questionnaire, item 51). The Braves were the single exception. They showed a majority of member respondents as white, while leadership was black. This finding is related to the previously noted fact that the organization, with an overall administrative staff, functions through separate individual organizations. This staff is multiracial; the membership is not.

The five measures on which we have compared the representativeness of the leadership and the membership show mixed results. The education and income data differ significantly for leaders and members while the age, sex, and racial/ethnic data do not.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings on the individual activities of the organizations researched in this study support the conclusion of Chapter III; namely that class and strategy are the key determinants of organizational characteristics. In terms of the most important internal variables (leadership, membership and internal democracy), we see that the organizational forms which predominate in lower-income communities do not allow for development in these key areas. The development of local leadership, the mobilization of a broad-based membership, and the pursuit of internally democratic procedures are not priorities for service or advisory organizations. As Piven has noted, in those cases where an individual becomes involved with an organization as the result of receipt of service, that individual's relationship with the organization generally does not develop into a more collective goal-oriented relationship (Piven, 1966). As regards the advisory strategy, Cahn and Cahn have pointed out the inherent weakness of these organizations, "Democratic participation cannot be equated with mere representation on a board of directors," (Cahn and Cahn, 1968). The strategy which holds the greatest potential for meeting the needs of lower-income communities is advocacy.

The 12 lower-income organizations in this study did not provide any examples of organizational activities which would encourage increased participation and internal democracy. Therefore we were forced to look outside for such an example. Wade Rathke's characterization of ACORN's approach emphasized the importance attached to each chapter's determination of the major issues confronting that chapter and the specific strategies to be used to pursue those goals. The importance of policy development as an organizational process, engaging membership at every level, is twofold. It provides for responsive goal setting and it guarantees broad involvement and commitment. ACORN is an advocacy organization with a strong social change orientation.

The client and representational membership organizations which are prevalent among lower-income communities cannot sustain a level of interest and involvement of members sufficient to produce internal cohesion or broad support for external goals. Neither do they provide the experience in the democratic process needed to develop new leadership or active citizenship.

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Chapter IV

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V.

NETWORKING AND ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter maps the interrelationships--the "networking"-- among the 16 community organizations in this study and other organizations and institutions external to them. We have defined a network as: a group of people who, either as individuals or as representatives of agencies or organizations, determine to communicate and/or work together to exchange ideas and/or resources on a regular and continuing basis. The range of activities can include exchange of information, access to new resources or contacts, joint programs, political action or coalition, or technical assistance.

Early networking studies which provided "a structural description of the interrelated world" (Sarason, 1977:10) were pioneered by Bott's work (1957) on open and closed networks of married couples and by Barnes (1954), who used individuals' personal networks to understand class formation. Both of these early works and much of the subsequent work by Mayer (1969), Epstein (1969), and Mitchell (1969) focused on linkages between specific individuals.

In addition to these early studies of individual networks, the early 1970s produced and saw the development of several important studies which focused on interorganizational networking. This work was stimulated by the need to coordinate services, particularly the social services (e.g., Lehman 1975; Terreberry 1968). Turk (1970) and Curtis and Zurcher (1973) use a mesh network to describe a number of organizations interacting around issues of interest to all. Turk (1970) relates large numbers of active organizations in cities with high levels of antipoverty funding. Curtis and Zurcher (1973) link effectiveness with network characteristics. They show that because of the nature of the groups' memberships and functions, networks of fraternal and social organizations provide more resources than do other political and civic organizations. Levine and White (1969) emphasize the role which organizations' functions play in dictating the nature of interorganizational relationships. Some organizations, as our study demonstrates, are very motivated to "negotiate" their environment and thus decrease uncertainty in their operational world. Cook (1977) and Benson (1975) emphasize the important role which the networks play in monitoring the organizational climate and enabling participating organizations to function with greater efficiency.

In defining what passes through networks, most authors include resources and information in their notion of exchanges. Mitchell (1969) included the exchange of "sentiments" to describe those exchanges which have an expressive or legitimating function. Further refinements in exchange theory, the concept of network "centrality," "exchange categories," and the interrelatedness of network segments, are presented in Emerson's (1972) work on exchange theory.

The growing recognition of the importance of networking activities is reflected in the research design for this study. Our stress on the relative importance of access to information, to decisionmakers, and to other organizations requires that we examine patterns of network interaction. The ability of organizations to "negotiate" their environments and establish support systems of their own may significantly affect the ability of an organization to function effectively.

However, the goal of the study was not to merely understand networking and its relationship to organizational effectiveness. Broad-based coalitions of community organizations build social movements. For example, the antiwar movement eventually united a variety of kinds of groups--women, minorities, labor, etc. Vertical relationships which exist between economic and political powerholders and the organizations in the study are of major interest because, under certain conditions, resources and political support flow through these linkages. A second kind of vertical networking is reflected in the links between middle-to-upper-income organizations and lower-income groups. These coalitions are of interest because they carry the potential for coalition building, described by Tax in her book The Rising of the Women (to be published in 1979).

One of the most fundamental networking issues is the nature of the exchange itself. Normally, the idea of an "exchange of ideas and/ or resources" assumes some form of equal value. The analysis attempts to evaluate the network contacts in terms of the exchange.

The research findings presented in this chapter are based primarily upon organization leaders' perceptions of their networks. Individual networks are treated in one section only of this chapter, Leaders' and Members Networks. Appendix G, Networking Data provides a full presentation of the methodology for this section.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

- The networking pattern of advisory groups in education and neighborhood planning is exclusively limited to the institutions which mandated them and with other mandated groups. Their pattern of limited networking with educational decisionmakers can be compared with the pattern of educational advocacy groups, which establish much stronger connections with those decisionmakers.

- Educational advocacy groups do not appear to have contacts with educational decisionmakers at the county, State and Federal level.

- Vocational education programs administered with State funds create a network between the State education department and community development and service groups; contacts which appear to be initiated by the State.

- State-level political decisionmakers (elected officials and party officials) are connected with mandated neighborhood planning groups through local party clubs/civic associations in Atlanta. Black legislators in Boston and Mexican American State legislators in California are connected to groups concerned with education. No other political contacts are evident.

- Service groups network with other service groups while not developing contacts with advocacy or advisory groups.

- Contacts with unions or professional associations are limited to contacts with teachers' unions and special associations of ethnic educators.

- Advocacy groups have contacts with universities and the media. Service and advisory groups generally do not.

- Several vocational education programs are sponsored by business. Generally this represents the only contacts between the organizations and business groups on educational issues.

- Fraternal, church and social groups are not significant parts of the network patterns of our organizations.

- The leaders' networks are substantially more developed than the members' networks.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRATEGY AND NETWORK SIZE

According to Sarason (1977), most researchers have assumed a relationship between the presence of an extensive network and the effectiveness of the organization. In examining the relationship between network size and network effectiveness, the following questions have been raised in the literature: do large networks develop more for information exchange and contacts with decisionmakers while smaller networks focus more toward joint action and resource exchange? Which networks seek to expand or limit membership? The first step in this process is the analysis of network size.

In determining the size of an organization's network, each contact identified by a respondent with other organizations and institutions was counted as one no matter how often the contact was repeated (see Appendix G: Networking Data). Since our research primarily focused on the range of networks, and since the data-gathering period was not sufficient to fully develop data on the frequency of recurring contacts, we have limited our analysis to identifying the number of different groups or institutions in the organization networks. Table 5-1 lists the organizations and the number of network contacts identified; table 5-2 summarizes these data by organizational strategy.

Table 5-1. Number of network contacts, by type of organization.

Range of Network Contacts	Number of Network Contacts	Organizations	Strategy
1 - 10	(5)	Fenways	Advisory
	(5)	Lakers	Service-Advocacy
	(6)	Magnolias	Service-Advocacy
	(5)	Commons	Advisory-Advocacy
	(6)	Dodgers	Advisory
	(8)	Omnis	Advocacy
	(8)	Falcons	Advisory
	(10)	Margaritas	Advisory-Advocacy
11 - 20	(12)	Braves	Service-Advocacy
	(16)	Yankees	Service
	(17)	Patriots	Service-Advocacy
21 - 30	(25)	Grits	Service
	(26)	Sunsets	Service
31 - 40	(34)	Celtics	Service
	(35)	Peachtrees	Advocacy
41 +	(44)	Venturas	Advocacy

Table 5-2. Average number of network contacts, by type of organization.

Strategy	Average number of network contacts
Advocacy	29
Service	25
Advisory	6
Mixed:	
Advisory-Service	10
Advocacy-Advisory	8
Average for all Organizations	16

As tables 5-1 and 5-2 indicate, significant differences show in the size of organizational networking patterns when the organizations are differentiated by strategy. Mandated groups which are advisory tend to have the fewest network contacts. This holds true even if the organization is pursuing a mixed strategy. Organizations which pursue a mixed service advocacy strategy show a greater range of network contacts, while those organizations which use advocacy to pursue their goals develop the most extensive network patterns. However, considering the limitations of the data, the differences between the advocacy and service strategies are minimal.

GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE AND NETWORK SIZE

If viewed from the perspective of geographic scope--neighborhood or citywide--the findings show only limited differences in the organizations' network patterns. Table 5-3 shows the average number of network contacts by geographic scope.

Table 5-3. Average number of network contacts, by 2-level geographic scope of organization.

Geographic scope of organization	Average number of network contacts
Neighborhood	16
Citywide	18

As this table indicates, no significant differences in size occur in organizations' networks whether the organizations are neighborhood or are citywide. However, if we refine geographic scope further to include a middle level (i.e., areawide), limited distinctions appear. While the number of organizations in each category is too small to allow for any general statements, the data indicate that geographic scope may have some relation to network size.

As table 5-4 suggests, the areawide groups (smaller than citywide but larger than an individual neighborhood) may show larger patterns of networking.

Table 5-4. Average number of network contacts, by 4-level geographic scope of network.

Geographic scope	Average number of network contacts
Citywide	12
Areawide	28
Neighborhood	16
School-based	6

Network size is the broadest measure of network activity. The most significant aspect of network research relates to the types of organizations and institutions which occur in the network; the network diversity.

CONTACTS WITH ORGANIZATIONS

Network Diversity

Network diversity refers to the range of different types of organizations and institutions included in an organization's network. Diversity of network includes vertical links between community organizations and organizations and institutions which derive their power from the State (elected officials and educational administrators) or economic powerholders (banks, government funding agencies, businesses). Networking across class and between racial/ethnic groups is another form of vertical networking. Horizontal contacts which the organizations in the study have made with a variety of type of community organizations and other institutions at the neighborhood, district, city, county, State, and national levels have been organized by the categories listed as follows:*

service groups
educational advocacy groups
workers' associations (unions, professional groups)
multi-issue advocacy groups
traditional civic interest groups

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*These categories were chosen after a review of the types of organizations and institutions in American cities (The Lynds, 1929, 1937; Leeds, 1969; Smith and Freedman, 1972).

civic interest groups, organized by race, ethnicity or sex
community development and housing
university and media
church, mutual help, fraternal, social organizations

In the sections that follow network building around ad hoc or ongoing school issues as well as noneducation issues will be discussed for all types of organizations. The relationships between community-development groups, other neighborhood-based groups and education groups are also outlined. Since a number of organizations under study are multipurpose organizations, they are likely to be involved in networks which deal with other-than-school issues. In these cases, the analysis has concentrated on evaluating the impact of such organizations on school-related networks; under what circumstances does an organization involved in housing concerns become involved with a school issue? Are school-oriented networks likely to move into other areas and exchange resources or act jointly with other groups or networks?

Service Organizations

The respondents have indicated several types of contacts with other service organizations, including settlement houses, community centers, drug-abuse programs, and legal services. The groups which show the greatest range of service contacts are themselves service groups.

Table 5-5. Average number of organizational contacts with service groups, by type of organization.

Strategy	Average number of contacts with service groups
Advocacy	1
Service	4
Advisory	1
Mixed:	
Advocacy-Service	3
Advocacy-Advisory	4

As table 5-5 indicates, the organizations which employ a service strategy have the greatest range of contacts with other service organizations. The relatively high average number of contacts in the advocacy-advisory category reflects one organization (there are only two in the category), which is extensively tied to other organizations within its ethnic community. Both advocacy and advisory organizations tend to have minimal contact with groups providing services. The service category shows the highest number of contacts across all organizations and testifies to the natural propensity of service groups to network with other service groups. This may also reflect the practice of referring clients to other service agencies.

Another anticipated finding was that the bulk of the contacts were at the city or neighborhood level. Of the total 238 service contacts, 22 were at the neighborhood or district level and 13 at the citywide level.

Educational Advocacy Organizations

Our research confirmed that the expected pattern of educational advocacy organizations having more extensive contacts with other advocacy organizations existed.

Table 5-6. Average number of contacts between organizations and educational organizations, by type of organization.

Strategy	Average number of contacts with educational advocacy organizations
Advocacy	4
Service	0
Advisory	0
Mixed:	
Advocacy-Service	1
Advocacy-Advisory	0

The only ties between educational advocacy groups were with other advocacy groups. An examination of the organizations' issue orientation also confirmed an expected result: school-issue organizations tend to have contacts with education advocacy groups while of the nine multipurpose organizations in the study, only four indicated any contacts with education advocacy groups.

Two special cases are interesting. First, two of the middle-to-upper-income organizations have contacts with a national educational advocacy organization, the National Committee of Citizens in Education. This organization serves as a national information exchange on issues relating to citizen participation in education. Second, one service organization had geared itself to servicing a set of mandated organizations. This relationship between self-initiated and mandated organizations represents a pattern that may exist more broadly outside the participating organizations. This finding needs to be more fully analyzed across a larger number of cases.

Workers' Associations

The pattern of contacts with work or workplace organizations showed two distinct patterns. First, the advocacy strategy appears to encourage such network connections with teachers' unions in three cities. Second, the service and advocacy-advisory categories appear to maintain at least some level of networking activity which included occupational groups. However, the bulk of this activity is concentrated in two organizations in Los Angeles (the Margaritas and the Dodgers), which network heavily in their racial/ethnic communities. The numbers in parentheses in table 5-7 indicate the average number of network contacts if these two organizations were removed from consideration. The higher level of activity associated with the advocacy strategy is more clearly reflected in this case.

Table 5-7. Average number of contacts of organizations with occupational organizations, by type of organization.

Organizational Strategy	Average number of contacts with occupational organizations
Advocacy	3 (3)
Service	2 (0)
Advisory	0 (0)
Mixed:	
Advocacy-Service	1 (1)
Advocacy-Advisory	2 (0)

Multi-Issue Advocacy Organizations

Since the research was designed to study organizational behavior in relation to school issues, the research instruments were geared to questions on key institutions and decisionmakers in education. While the research was primarily concerned with school-issue networks, the responses to the various instruments did indicate some multi-issue advocacy network patterns. In this case we have analyzed the data in terms of the school-issue, multi-issue dichotomy.

Table 5-8. Average number of organizational contacts with multi-issue advocacy organizations, by issue focus.

Issue focus	Average number of multi-issue advocacy organization contacts
School-issue	0
Multi-issue	2

Of the few organizations for which we have information on this aspect of the networking, the most active has extensive national contacts on such diverse issues as defense spending and population control. The second most active is a statewide center for a number of poor peoples' organizations. Consequently, it maintains regular contacts with a number of advocacy organizations. Three service/community development organizations have contact with city or State federations which organize around economic and political issues such as redlining, utility rates, and voter registration. Our information indicated that these contacts were generally initiated by the local organizations rather than by the statewide organizations.

Traditional Civic-Interest Organizations

This category, which includes business groups such as Chambers of Commerce, shows a minimal level of network activity. The only organizations which indicate a modest level of networking activity are the advocacy organizations, which average approximately two contacts per organization. Beyond these advocacy organizations, only one other organization shows any contact with these groups. The mandated community planning organization in Atlanta has a comparatively extensive pattern of local contacts.

These data show that in all three cities community organizations maintain only limited contact with the Chamber of Commerce or equivalent business organizations, primarily with regard to vocational education programs. In two cities, the League of Women Voters has contacts with other organizations.

Civic-Interest Organizations--By Race/Ethnicity and Sex

This section focuses directly on patterns of networking which include racial/ethnic contacts or contacts based on sex. As indicated in the section on workers' associations, in Los Angeles we have evidence of a high level of networking activity in the Hispanic community. Our evidence suggests that the Hispanic community has organized itself in such a way that a number of different organizations are supported by the community, many with the same membership and leadership, which involve themselves in different activities. One organization may be involved in providing individual client services; one in economic development; one as an advisory group within the system; and another involved in the support of political candidates.

The only other organization which shows network contacts in this area is also in Los Angeles, and has a number of national contacts with feminist organizations and Jewish women's national organizations.

An interesting omission in this category are the traditional black organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League. These organizations are identified only once or twice in the networking data.

Community Development and Housing Organizations

These organizations show one of the highest levels of network activity. The results parallel the findings in the analyses of the service contacts, which indicated that use of a service strategy resulted in the highest level of network activity.

As table 5-9 indicates, neither advisory nor advocate organizations network with community development or housing groups--with only one exception. Service groups, especially those involved in community development, exchange information with neighboring service groups (e.g., community centers) and with neighboring development groups. There are also local links between tenant organizations and neighborhood improvement organizations.

Table 5-9. Average number of organizational contacts with community development organizations, by type of organization.

Strategy	Average number of contacts with community development organization
Advocacy	0
Service	3
Advisory	0
Mixed:	
Advocacy-Service	1
Advocacy-Advisory	2

University and Media Organizations

Only a few service/community development groups had either availed themselves of the planning expertise, student labor or other resources of local universities. One community development group served as a model which has received international attention.

One advocate group in Atlanta and one service group in Boston have constantly used the media to further their goals. However, neglect of both the resources of higher education and of the media was typical among most of the organizations, with only five of 16 organizations identifying any contact with either group.

The Peachtrees show the most skill in using the media to legitimate their efforts. A number of their members are either in the media or have media contacts. Their well-publicized successes have led to their attendance at university conferences, where they are seen as an organization model. These experiences allow the organization access to nationwide networks through which pass information about resources, new program ideas, etc. This organization also uses the media contacts to prepare professional written materials which explicitly "sell" the schools in its district. These materials directly address parents' worries about schools and identify a range of special programs available only in that district.

Church, Fraternal and Social Organizations

This category shows an extremely low level of networking activity; only three of the 16 organizations identify any contacts in this area. All the contacts were with church organizations. One organization serves as the regional center for the National Council of Churches; one service organization receives assistance from two church groups; and one community development organization has the support of its local churches. All three organizations are in the service category. Notable by their absence were fraternal and social groups such as the Knights of Columbus and the Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks, which were not mentioned by any respondents.

Summary

The overall pattern of organizational contacts with other organizations primarily reflects the strategy the organization used to pursue its goals. While individual categories may be related to other distinctions (e.g., school-issue, multi-issue), the research indicates that those organizations which engage in advocacy generally had the highest levels of network activity. Service/economic development organizations were also generally involved in extensive patterns of networking; however, the bulk of their contacts were with organizations involved in the same issues. Those mandated organizations which rely on their advisory role show the lowest level of network activity, especially in regard to contacts with self-initiated organizations.

NONORGANIZATIONAL NETWORKING

Of some significance would be the ability of the organizations to establish contacts with economic and political power holders, both in education and elsewhere. We have attempted to keep these two different types of contacts separate, though to some extent this section necessarily overlaps the previous one. We examined these contacts in the following categories:

Educational administrators
Elected officials and party organizations
Economic Power - Business
Government funding

Educational Administrators

Table 5-10 shows the type of group and its relation to decisionmakers at all levels in the educational bureaucracy. It does not include advisory groups and groups which are advisory-advocate in strategy, five in number, whose contacts with the administrators are mandated. These are described in the next section. Contacts which the organizations have with local-level mandated groups are also not included in this analysis because we do not consider local-level mandated groups part of the decisionmaking bureaucracy.

Table 5-10. Organizational contacts with educational administrators.*

	Level					
Strategy**	Local School	District	City (LEA)	County	State	National
Advocacy	-	1	3	-	1	-
Service	-	3	3	-	1	-
Mixed:						
Advocacy-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Service	-	1	1	-	1	-

---

*Seven groups (two service-advisory, three advisory, two advisory-advocate) have no contact with the educational administration.

**An organization may indicate more than one level of contact.

Table 5-10 indicates that for the organizations in this study city-or LEA-level contacts are the most frequent. Usually these contacts are made with the superintendent of schools, members of the board of education, various departments of the citywide school system or with the citywide coordinators of various U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare programs. State-level contacts are with the vocational education department or the State commissioner (in Massachusetts), or with the California Early Childhood Education program in Los Angeles. Three groups have contact with the local school district superintendent as well as the citywide superintendent of schools. It is interesting to note that no organization identified has contact with the county or Federal Government.

Advisory groups or advisory-advocacy groups mandated by the courts in a particular school district (Boston) or attached to a local school as an advisory board (in Los Angeles) generally have contact with the other mandated structures at the district or city level, and sometimes with the local level group which they are supplementing and duplicating, e.g., Home and School Associations in Boston. These local-level groups have contact with local school principals and the area superintendent because those offices are part of the structure. One advisory group has several resource people from the "city board" or district offices. ESEA Title I coordinators at the district level may be involved with these mandated groups because Title I also mandates Parent Advisory Councils (PAC's), and these various groups may be consolidated into a school PAC.

Elected Officials and Party Organizations

Table 5-11 indicates the range of organizational contacts with elected officials in relation to the organization's strategy.

Table 5-11. Number of organizational contacts* with elected officials, by type of organization, and by level of official.

	Level			
Strategy	Mayor/ City Council	County	State	National
Advocacy	1	0	2	0
Service	4	0	2	2
Advisory	2	0	1	0
Mixed:				
Advocacy-Service	1	0	0	0
Advocacy-Advisory	1	0	0	0

---

*Seven groups have no contact with elected officials.

This table indicates that most contacts with elected officials take place at the city level. One advisory organization has contact with the city council because it is mandated by the city, not by the school system. Another educational advisory group is rehabilitating a neighborhood park, aided by city council members; the group shows no other contact with noneducational decisionmakers. Three other groups in contact with the city council are involved in community development projects and have contact with the council in conjunction with these projects.

The lack of contacts with elected officials at the county level must be considered against several facts about the importance of the county in two cities in the study. The metropolitan desegregation case in Atlanta highlighted the importance of the county as a unit. The case, which involved the desegregation of the city of Atlanta, named nine adjoining counties. Los Angeles has a school unit--the district--which conforms to neither the city nor the county. District-county-city relations in Los Angeles are extremely significant.

Some 80 percent of the groups that have connections at the State and national levels are also among those with the largest networks.

Those contacted at the State level include members of a Black Caucus in the Massachusetts Legislature and an Hispanic/Mexican American group of State legislators in Sacramento. According to our data, one service/community development group (the Celtics) and one service group (the Sunsets) have contact with members of Congress.

One of the most striking findings of the networking research is the lack of contacts between the organizations in the study and party officials. Two organizations listed contacts with party structures, both at the county level in Georgia, where the influence of the county government is strong. One Los Angeles organization identified a link with the city Democratic club. This almost nonexistent pattern of contacts with party organizations reflects the lack of importance of this element in the three sites. The only city which might be considered to have active neighborhood political clubs is Boston, yet none of our organizations identify any contact with those structures.

It is interesting to note that the issue focus of the organization, which might be considered a prime determinant of contacts with elected officials, does not appear to be significant. Our data do not support the assumption that single-issue education-oriented organizations concentrate on the education bureaucracy and ignore other elected officials. If the data in table 5-12 are presented by issue focus, little difference between the two classifications is evident.

Table 5-12. Number of contacts of school and multi-issue organizations with elected officials, by level of official.

	Level			
Issue Focus	Mayor/ City Council	County	State	National
School-issue	4	0	3	1
Multi-issue	5	0	2	1

Economic Power--Business

Table 5-13 lists the number and type of contacts which all the groups in the study have with business organizations.

Table 5-13. Number of organizational contacts with economic powerholders, by type of organization.

Strategy	Total contacts with business*
Advocacy	1
Service	3
Advisory	0
Mixed:	
Advocacy-Service	1
Advocacy-Advisory	0
	5

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*The Yankees also have some relationship with the Trilateral Task Force, a group of businessmen interested in education. The Peachtrees efforts are supported by a group of 98 real estate brokers, and the Leadership Georgia and Leadership Atlanta Organizations.

Only five of the 16 community organizations studied have contacts with corporations or businesses. Of these five contacts, two involve money contributions directly from banks (the Peachtrees), or the arranging by bankers of a situation (a luncheon for example) where money can be raised by appeals to attending businessmen (the Yankees). A third business contact, with the Georgia Power Company, was made when one member of the group became Georgia Power's representative in the community. This represents an individual rather than an organizational contact. Polaroid is connected with the Celtics through a training program which it administers and funds. The fourth and fifth contacts involve the Grits, IBM, and the Ford Motor Company. The support those companies give aids in the provision of program services.

Both groups which receive cash contributions from banks are middle-to-upper-income groups. The remaining organizations which receive business support are lower-income groups that receive support from the business community for ongoing service programs. This may indicate the difference in the ability to generate funding, especially nonprogram money, by the economic class of the organization.

Government Funding

The advocacy groups (the Peachtrees, the Omnis and the Venturas) receive no funds from any level of government. Of these, the Omnis and Venturas generate their own funds either from their membership or private sources. They are supported neither by the government nor by business. The Peachtrees do receive limited help from the school system to support their activities. All other groups receive funds from one or another level of the government structure. The size of their budgets, the governmental agencies which fund them, and other information can be found in organizational profiles contained in Appendix C, Organizational Profiles.

Some service groups receive many hours of free labor from government service programs (VISTA, for example) which place workers in their programs. One resourceful organization has taken advantage of benefits from CETA, VISTA, The National Endowment for the Arts, the National Historical Commission, Community Development, Bicentennial Commission and Bureau of Cultural and International Affairs grants; interns provided through the local board of education; and an Internal Revenue Service tax assistance program.

Several service groups receive service and expertise from other service agencies such as Planned Parenthood and Legal Aid. They also exchange services and information with the department of social services at the city or county level. These exchanges of services with other agencies provide information and assistance to the organization's clients or members. They also serve to establish the credibility of the service agency and the patronage powers of the director; all these supplementary agencies are a source of jobs and further contacts.

Summary

The network pattern between the organizations and decisionmakers does not show as clear a pattern as the patterns of contacts between organizations. None of the typologies we have used appear to match the wide variety of network patterns which have been discussed in these four categories. This suggests that these contacts may not be organizational patterns, but rather patterns related to the individual contacts of organization members and leaders.

LEADERS' AND MEMBERS' NETWORKS

In a meeting of the site researchers in Los Angeles, the question of networking received special attention. The researchers indicated their feeling that the network activities were dependent on the individual leader's contacts with other organization leaders and decisionmakers, rather than systematic interorganizational contacts. The importance of this question caused us to examine this distinction in the research in all three cities.

The network research was not initially designed to examine the differences in members' and leaders' network contacts. However, as the issue became increasingly important, we have attempted to adapt our data to this type of analysis. In mapping the leaders' networks we have two sources of information, interviews and questionnaires; for the members we have only questionnaire responses. Nevertheless, we have attempted a basic comparison of the two network patterns.

Table 5-14 compares the networks identified by the members and those identified by the leaders. Members' responses include all responses to questions about organizational contacts as well as responses to questions of individual contacts. Organizations named by both leaders and members are listed in the column marked Overlap.

Table 5-14. The identification of networks, by organizational leaders, by organizational members, and by both groups.

	Extent of Networks		
Organization	Leaders only	Members Only	Overlap
Braves	12	4	1
Peachtrees	35	9	2
Falcons	8	9	3
Omnis	8	0	0
Grits	25	5	0
Magnolias	6	1	0
Patriots	17	9	3
Yankees	16	4	1
Commons	5	2	1
Celtics	34	1	1
Fenways	-	-	-
Dodgers	6	0	0
Margaritas	10	0	0
Sunsets	26	11	2
Lakers	5	0	0
Venturas	44	9	4

Even recognizing the limitations of the membership data, two patterns suggest themselves. First, the leaders' networks tend to be from two to four times more extensive than members' networks. Second, our findings indicate that members and leaders generally do not share the same contacts. If we consider one of the functions of organizations is to increase the range of contacts of the members, our organizations (with the exception of the Falcons) would seem to fail. Moreover, if we assume that leaders report to the membership on their contacts with other organizations and decisionmakers and, as a result, members would indicate awareness of those contacts, then our findings show little evidence that this type of communication occurs in these organizations. These data and the findings related to contact with decisionmakers support the site researchers' impressionistic view that the networking patterns tend to be the result of individual contacts rather than the result of the organizations' activities.

Networking Between Our Organizations

One of the key networking research issues which directly relates to the ability of organizations to pursue their goals effectively is their ability to network across income and racial/ethnic categories. The exchange of information and resources would appear to hold an opportunity for lower-income groups to gain access to the resources of middle-class organizations.

Our attempt to pursue this concept is limited to analyzing the network patterns between the organizations which participated in the study, because the income or racial/ethnic bases of the organizations named in the networking research are not identifiable with any precision.

If we cross compare organizations' networks, we will get a rough idea of whether any contacts exist between them. To allow for the broadest possible identification of network patterns within a city, we included direct contact between organizations, and overlapping organizational contacts. Findings are presented in the section that follows.

Income

The networks of organizational contacts of four organizations (the Peachtrees, Omnis, Yankees and Venturas) identified as middle-to-upper income were compared with those of the lower-income organizations in each city.

Table 5-15. Direct and overlapping contacts of four participating organizations with participating and selected non-participating organizations in Atlanta, Boston and Los Angeles.

Atlanta

The Peachtrees* contacts with:	Direct contacts	Overlapping contacts with nonparticipating organizations
Braves	0	1
Falcons	0	0
Grits	0	0
Magnolias	0	0

(continued on next page)

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*The Peachtrees are a neighborhood-based organization as compared with the three other middle-to-upper-income organizations, which are citywide.

The Omnis contacts with:	Direct contacts	Overlapping contacts with nonparticipating organizations
Braves	0	0
Falcons	0	0
Grits	0	0
Magnolias	0	0
	Boston	
The Yankees contacts with:		
Patriots	1	1
Commons	0	0
Celtics	0	0
Fenways	1	0
	Los Angeles	
The Venturas contacts with:		
Dodgers	0	0
Margaritas	0	2
Sunsets	0	2
Lakers	0	0

As these data clearly show, few direct contacts exist between the organizations of different economic class, and relatively few overlapping networks come to light. In Boston, the Yankees, a service organization which offers services to some members of lower-income organizations proved to be an exception. The specific overlaps suggest that certain groups do provide a setting for interclass collaboration. These are the teachers' unions, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and an antiredlining group in Los Angeles. Of these, the latter two seem to have the potential to be nodal points in communication and action.

Contacts Across Racial/Ethnic Lines

In order to examine the direct and overlapping contacts between racial/ethnic organizations by city, we again compared the network patterns of our organizations, identifying them by racial/ethnic groups.

Table 5-16. Number of direct and overlapping contacts, by racial/ethnic organizations, and by city.

		Black	Hispanic	Other	Black/Hispanic
		Atlanta*			
Black	4	0	-	-	
Hispanic	0	-	-	-	
Other	2	1	-	0	
		Boston			
Black	2	0	0	0	1
Hispanic	1	0	0	0	0
Other	1	1	0	0	1
Black/Hispanic	1	1	0	0	0
		Los Angeles			
Black	1	0	0	0	0
Hispanic	2	0	2	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0
Black/Hispanic	1	0	0	0	0

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*Since there are no Hispanic organizations in the Atlanta site, the box is represented by a dash, not a zero.

These data indicate that networking across racial/ethnic boundaries occurs only infrequently. When added to the data on economic class (table 5-15), we are able to conclude that the vertical networking does not occur between the organizations participating in the study. The ability of lower-income organizations to use the information and access of other organizations to enhance their own functioning seems limited. The importance of this overall pattern is underscored by the experience of the study in Atlanta, where a lower-income black organization and a middle-to-upper-income black organization became aware of each other's activities through the study and as a result established contacts in which the lower-income organization was able to receive information it could not obtain using its own resources. This not only suggests the

the importance of such contacts but also indicates that some form of catalyst was necessary to bring the organizations together, even for an exchange of information.

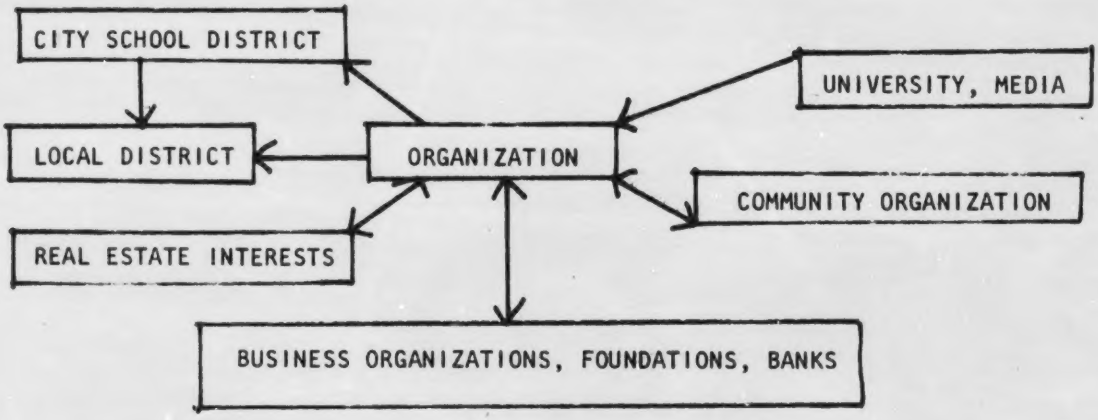
NETWORK PATTERNS

The strong relationship between interorganizational network patterns and organizational strategy suggests that different patterns of resource exchanges by type of strategy provide some explanation of effectiveness.

Advocacy Patterns

The first advocacy pattern represents an organization which functions primarily to mediate between the school district and the local school. Such an organization may be involved in the decisionmaking process at the local school with regard to funding, as a broker; the funds do not pass through the organization although the flow of resources between city school district and the local schools is conditioned by the informational flow between the city, local school, and the organization.

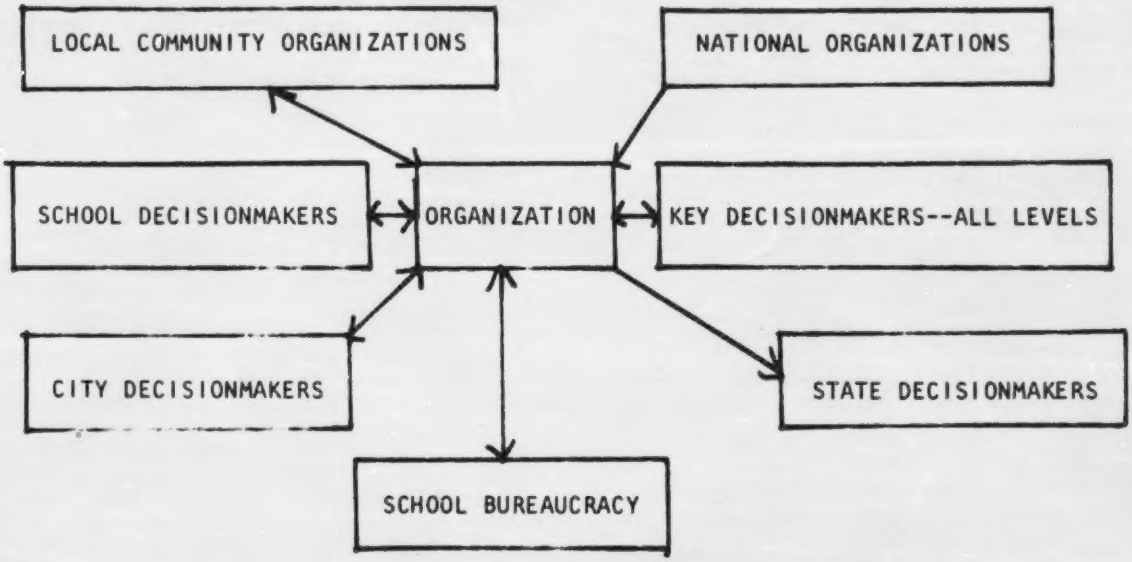
Diagram 5-1. Advocacy Organization, pattern 1.


CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT
UNIVERSITY, MEDIA
LOCAL DISTRICT
ORGANIZATION
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
REAL ESTATE INTERESTS
BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS, FOUNDATIONS, BANKS

This pattern shows a wide variety of income resources and information which are used for organizational support. This broad base is one of the most important features of this model: if one source of support is cut off, other sources can be substituted for it. This ability to substitute resources is a strong advantage of this model as compared with the service model, which will be detailed later.

A second advocacy pattern might be called the good government pattern. This pattern shows a constellation of individuals, each knowledgeable about an issue, who come together to take an organization position on those issues--but who may not end up sharing each other's individual networks.

Diagram 5-2. Advocacy Organization, pattern 2.


LOCAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
SCHOOL DECISIONMAKERS
ORGANIZATION
KEY DECISIONMAKERS--ALL LEVELS
CITY DECISIONMAKERS
STATE DECISIONMAKERS
SCHOOL BUREAUCRACY

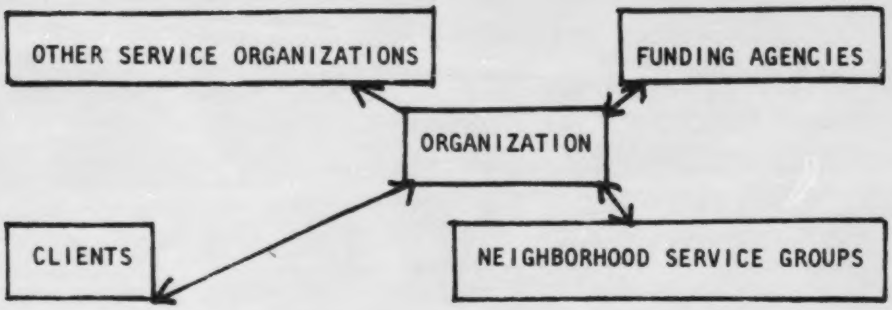
Both these advocate patterns show a high degree of ongoing exchange and information exchange which flow in both directions and may include a wide range of organizations and institutions.

In the advocacy patterns, we also see another element of networking exchanges. Mitchell (1969) had identified the "exchange of sentiments" as one form of network power exchange. Such legitimizing on supportive exchanges tends to result in increased strength for both parties. We see this type of contact most clearly in the advocacy pattern.

Service Patterns

The first service pattern reflects those organizations which are involved in the provision of services.

Diagram 5-3. Service Organization.

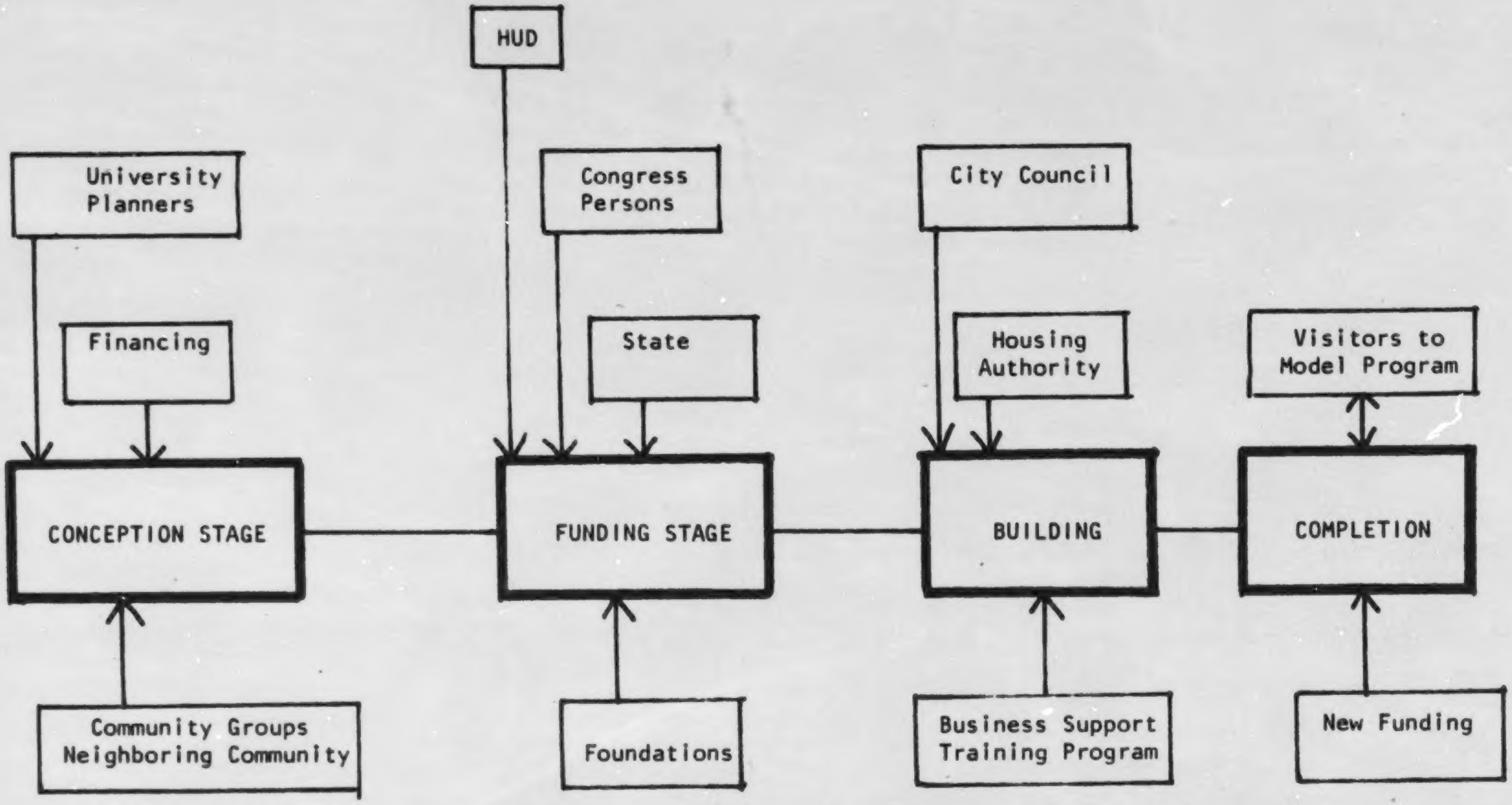


Money from various funding sources, as well as contributions of time and expertise from other service organizations, flows into the group. The link between the organization and the funding agency is conditioned by the flow of services from the group to service consumers and vice versa (Emerson, 1972). However, this conditioning of the link between the group and funding (by the flow of services from the group to the consumer) is quite different from the way in which the advocate organization functions as a broker between levels of a system (i.e., the school at district and city levels).

The second service pattern reflects the networks of those organizations primarily involved in community economic development.

Diagram 5-4, page 122, attempts to describe the process of community development, the links to other community organizations, and the bureaucracies and funding sources an organization creates as it moves from stage to stage of the process of task completion. One important difference between this network and the first advocacy pattern is the lack of alternatives for certain types of linkages. The government bureaucracies connected with housing, for example, cannot be replaced with more cooperative bureaucrats in other agencies in the manner in which group service organizations can perform a different service if alternative funding is developed, and advocacy groups can find a new foundation or bank. The task of community development, because of its nature and the high level of technical expertise needed, seems to encourage relations with other community development groups in the area or it may create such groups as a by product of its effort to collaborate with other neighborhoods.

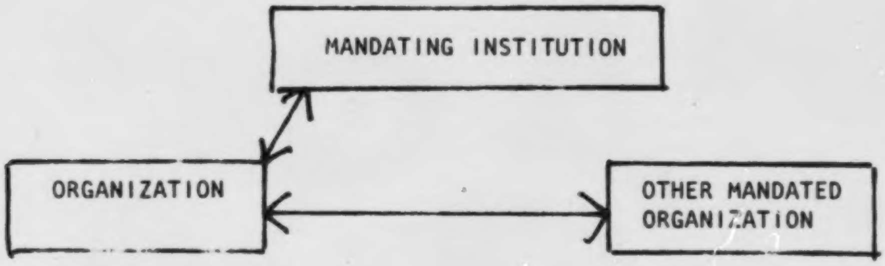
5-4. Basic linkages within community development


HUD
University Planners
Financing
Congress Persons
State
City Council
Housing Authority
Visitors to Model Program
CONCEPTION STAGE
FUNDING STAGE
BUILDING
COMPLETION
Community Groups Neighboring Community
Foundations
Business Support Training Program
New Funding

Advisory Patterns

As the research has clearly pointed out, those organizations which are advisory have the lowest level of networking activity.

Diagram 5-5. Mandated Organization.



In this model, it should be noted, the mandating institution is central; the organization functions at the direction of the institution.

Advocacy networking patterns appeared to be the strongest. First, the pattern included a broad range of organizations and institutions which ensured that the organization was not dependent on one contact and that substitute sources of resources were available. Second, the exchanges were more often two-way, or balanced, whereas the service patterns showed a high evidence of unbalanced contacts. Significantly, the advocacy patterns reflected the role chosen by middle-to-upper-income organizations. These have resources of their own which they can use in balanced exchanges, whereas the lower-income organizations generally have lower levels of internal resources and have less to exchange. Third, the networking patterns of the advocacy organizations offer certain legitimating contacts generally not available to the service or mandated organizations.

CONCLUSIONS

The networking research supports the other research in this study which indicates the generally low level of activity on the part of this sample of community organizations. The lack of networks among the various organizations by class or type of strategy is suggestive of the isolated circumstances in which these organizations function, although they have interests in common. During the period of the study, no coalitions or joint action strategies on policy issues were discernible. For many of these organizations, particularly interracial and interclass ones, the work on this study as part of the city research team was the first contact they had with each other. As a majority of all the organizations in each city were concerned with school issues, this fact is even more startling.

Since the advocacy groups maintained the largest networks and the mandated groups were the most narrow in their range of contacts, the implications of the findings are even more significant. The increase in the number of mandated groups and the decline in advocacy as a strategy suggest that networking has become less important and will continue to be less important. School officials may feel even less pressured to respond to contacts with advisory groups.

The class distinctions are also impressive. Some observers have assumed that vertical networks among classes would give lower-class groups a leg-up by contact with more middle-class organizations. Through such contacts they might feed off the status and potential power of middle-income organizations. Our findings suggest that networks require an exchange of power; since lower-income groups have no power to exchange, middle-income groups do not network with them. The one resource lower-income organizations potentially have is numbers. However, the movement away from advocacy might well undermine the cohesion and projection of numbers as a resource, therefore further decreasing the ability of lower-income organizations to offer something in a network exchange.

The more frequent networking of racial and ethnic groups among themselves and with public officials of their own background is relevant. Here the exchange of support from the community organization for power in the system is more likely to be assumed.

The general lack of contacts of these community organizations with business, party officials, and elected officials is significant. The restriction of contact to local school or area decisionmakers suggests the most narrow perception of power. Since none of the districts have decentralized politically, these contacts provide very minimal access to school-system policy decisions.

The almost total lack of networking with State officials is noteworthy. Education is a State function, and two of the three States in this study were selected because they are considered strongly involved in local school policymaking. The lower-income groups in particular lack contact with State education decisionmakers except where they are selectively initiated by personnel in a particular State program.

Finally, the importance of individual networking as contrasted with organizational networking is significant. Our data have indicated the difference between the network patterns of the organization leaders and members and the lack of overlap between the two. These findings suggest that policies designed to encourage interorganizational networking may not have the effect of significantly improving lower-income organizations' access to information, resources, and power. Rather, the significance of individual networking indicates that attempts to increase the linkages of political leaders in low-income communities might result in increased organizational effectiveness.

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Chapter V

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VI.

ORGANIZATIONS AND POLICY GOALS

INTRODUCTION

When we think of a community organization, we think of structures for translating a community of interests among the members into strategies and actions taken to reach desired goals. In our analysis of the 16 organizations, we look at them from several perspectives; as fuctional systems, and as rational models influenced by external forces. As a system each organization is a collection of components, and the relationships between those components are significant (Abrahamsson, 1977). Chapter IV: Characteristics of Community Organizations, was concerned with the internal structural aspects of the organizations. Community organizations are also open systems, i.e., they are intricately linked with the outside environment in which they exist. This chapter and Chapter VII: The Politics of School Systems and Community Organization Access, describe those interrelationships.

We have also incorporated the goal or rational model of organizational analysis into the study; it defines success as a realization of an organization's goals. In this model the organization is seen as a rationally-designed instrument for the realization of the explicit goals of a particular group of people (Gouldner, 1959).

This chapter is concerned with evaluation of goals, both those stated by the organization itself and those projected by the study as a measure of organizational effectiveness. In the case of the latter, we have defined effectiveness as the degree to which the organization attempts to influence--and does influence--policy decisions in three broad policy areas, namely budget, personnel and curriculum.
We have also selected three major issue areas in each city and analyzed the extent of participation of the organizations in shaping decisions in those policy areas.

REASEARCH FINDINGS

- The organizations do not show regular patterns of involvement in broader school policy areas, i.e. budget, personnel, and curriculum. They are more likely to concern themselves with specific local school issues.

- The organizations themselves perceive themselves to be more actively involved than the evidence suggests.

- The issue which appeared to generate significant organization activity was desegregation.

- In terms of the major policy issues, city and school decision-makers are more likely to identify the key policy areas than organization leaders are. A minimal amount of organization time is spent on discussion of school issues.

- The organizations in this study do not regularly evaluate and discuss organizational goals. The most basic, but unstated, organization goal is self-maintenance.

- The various types of organizations show no significant differences in the amount of time spent on maintenance when examined in terms of organization strategy.

- Organizations which are in existence for less than 5 or more than 10 years show little change in stated goals. Organizations in existence between 5 and 10 years show a greater tendency to shift organization focus.

- Media reporting significantly affects the issue agendas adopted by community organizations.

POLICY GOALS

Our analysis of the impact of community organizations on school policy is based on two categories of analysis. The first is the extent to which organizations try to influence and are effective in the major school policy areas; budget, personnel and curriculum.* Policy decisions made in these three areas determine the allocation of resources and thus, to an extent, the quality of education throughout the system. A second category of analysis of organizational effectiveness in school policy-making is an exploration of organization participation in narrower and more local policy. These latter issues were determined by our site research staffs. Each team was asked to agree on three areas of particular concern to that city school system during the course of the study. The issues selected by the site staffs in each city were:

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*Gittell, in a number of studies of the New York City school boards and community health groups, has used these general categories of policy output to evaluate organizational effectiveness (Gittell, 1973).

Boston: (1) desegregation,
(2) selection of a new superintendent,
(3) school safety.

Atlanta: (1) desegregation,
(2) declining enrollment,
(3) educational outcomes.

Los Angeles: (1) desegregation,
(2) Proposition 13,
(3) collective bargaining (Rodda Act).

In conducting this second level of analysis we assumed that the issues selected would reflect the involvement of the organizations we were studying, since the site staffs included active members of those organizations. This would provide the widest possible opportunity for identifying a participatory role for the organizations. We anticipated greater involvement at this level but were concerned with the extent and character of that participation.

Data collection for these analyses included review of all organizational meetings to determine the character and frequency of school issues found on each organization's agenda. Data from the leadership and membership questionnaires were analyzed to determine organizational perceptions of influence on school policy. This was matched with what decisionmakers had to say when asked about organizational effectiveness. Board actions and media reports were used to compare perceptions and behavior. School policymaking was viewed as a process that takes place in five continuous stages, including initiation, formulation, adoption, implementation and monitoring or evaluation. In the discussion of community organizations and school policy we have tried to identify the stage at which the 16 organizations got involved.

The data point out the limited role that community organizations have in the school policy process in both categories. The shift from advocacy to service as a strategy has severely limited organizational activity in policy areas. Individual influence and negotiation were more evident than organizational power. Organization participation was particularly limited in the school systems' broader policy areas (budget, personnel and curriculum); these policies are almost exclusively dominated by professionals and reflect routinization of bureaucratic policymaking. It is not surprising that community organizations eschew these broad policy areas. They are more likely to address themselves to more specific issues, particularly on a school district or neighborhood level. When community organizations do participate, it is at the final or monitoring stage. For example, the actions of the Federal District Court in Boston brought parents into the policy process only after policy had been formulated, adopted and implemented. At the local level, Racial Ethnic Parent Councils (REPC's) were responsible for making sure that the desegregation process proved to be safe. The function was a monitoring one. This would be true of the mandated groups in general: their advisory role at best is limited to the final stage, after policy has been implemented. Other organizations tended to be reactive to the extent that they addressed policy issues, usually those with more local than systemwide concerns. Only the middle-class advocacy organizations were proactive, seeking to influence the shaping of some broader area of school system policy.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS: BUDGET, PERSONNEL AND CURRICULUM POLICIES

Organization Meetings

Throughout the course of the study, organization meeting notes were compiled by site researchers. Table 6-1 analyzes the amount of time spent in organizational meetings on school system issues, alternate education services, and any other matters. A breakdown of organizations by strategy showed that those which used an advocacy or advisory strategy or a combination of the two, spent more of their time discussing school system issues.

Table 6-1. Agenda analysis, by organizational strategy.

		Percentage of time spent on:		
Organizational strategy	Organization*	School system issues	Alternate education issues	Other issues
Advocacy	Peachtrees +	15.5	2.8	81.7
	Venturas	73.1	-	27.3
Advisory	Falcons	20.0	-	80.0
	Fenways +	47.9	-	52.4
	Dodgers +	38.3	-	61.9
Advocacy/advisory	Commons	32.3	7.2	60.9
	Margaritas +	66.5	-	33.2
Service	Grits	-	10.6	89.8
	Yankees +	27.1	1.0	72.7
	Celtics	-	15.0	89.0
	Sunsets +	21.0	13.2	65.9
	Lakers	4.8	6.5	88.2
Service/advocacy	Braves	-	4.8	94.8
	Magnolias	-	-	100.0
	Patriots	2.1	6.3	91.9

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*Data not available for the Omnis.
+School Issue Only

A large number of concerns included under the heading of Other Issues were concerned with organization maintenance. Service organizations especially devote a large amount of time to maintenance. It should be noted that in the case of the Venturas, the site researcher was observing meetings of the Educational Committee and therefore issues related to organizational maintenance did not arise. Of the four organizations which did not show concern with school issues in organizational meetings, three were in Atlanta. All four were lower income.

These data suggest the limited interest which the organizations have in school issues and the lack of initiative which can be generated regarding such issues. So much time was spent on maintenance issues, keeping the organization alive, lower-income organization leadership had little time left for substantive issues. This finding in itself points up a major problem in orientation, particularly for lower-class organizations. One can reasonably conclude that if an organization without resources stressed maintenance as a goal, it would not be able to concern itself with policy issues.

Membership and Leadership Questionnaires

With regard to the analysis of time spent at organization meetings on policy issues, it is interesting to compare the perceptions of the leaders and members regarding the outcomes of their activity.

Item 40 of the leadership questionnaire asks "Do you feel that the organization has an impact on school policy?" A majority of organizational leaders answered "yes" to this question. Out of a total of 54 responses, 36 (67 percent) answered yes"; 7 (13 percent) said "no," while 11 (20 percent) did not respond. Significant differences could be seen in responses when the question was broken down to reflect the various typologies.

Table 6-2. Leaders' perceptions of organizations' impact on school policy.

		Does the organization have an impact on the school policy?		
Type of organization		Yes	No	No Response
Middle-to-upper income	(N=16)	100%	-	-
Lower-income	(N=38)	53	18%	29%
School-issue-only	(N=20)	100	-	-
Multi-issue	(N=34)	47	21	32
Citywide	(N=23)	78	7	13
Neighborhood	(N=31)	58	16	26
Other	(N=16)	100	-	-
Black, Hispanic Black and Hispanic	(N=38)	53	18	29

Question 40a pursues the issue further by asking what kind of impact the organization has had (see Appendix E: Questionnaire Data). The responses indicate that leaders have a very loose interpretation of the term "impact." The majority said that the impact they had on school policy consisted of simply increasing contact with school officials.

Only five leaders said that their organizations had effected changes in the major policy areas of budget, personnel, and curriculum. These leaders were from two of the middle-to-upper-income organizations. Not one leader from a lower-income organization mentioned changes in the major policy areas. Several stated they had caused changes in nonpolicy school issues.

Item 33 of the membership questionnaire and item 42 of the leadership questionnaire specifically asked respondents about their potential involvement and influence in budget, personnel, and curriculum matters (see table 6-3). The overwhelming majority of responses concluded "the organization should be consulted and have input." This response implied that at that time, the organization did not have any input and was not consulted. Of the three policy areas, budget was most closed to organizational input. In only one case did both leaders and members say that the organization was consulted and had input. This organization was a school-mandated group in Los Angeles. This activity, an advisory one, was prescribed in its mandate. Leaders and members perceive curriculum to be the area most open to organizational input. In general, the leaders were more apt than members to say that an organization did not have input in any area.

Table 6-3. Leaders' and members' perceptions of organizational influence in budget, curriculum and personnel.

Organization data:				Organization involvement by policy area:			
				Budget		Curriculum	
Strategy*	Geographic scope	Scope of issues	Organization	Has input, is consulted	Should be consulted have input	Has input, is consulted	Should be consulted, have input
Middle-to-upper income							
Advocacy	Citywide	School-issues only	Omnis	-	L	-	L
Advocacy	Citywide	Multi-issue	Venturas	-	M L	-	M L
Advocacy	Neighborhood	School-issues only	Peachtrees	-	M L	M	M L
Service	Citywide	School-issues only	Yankees	M	M L	-	M L
Lower income							
Advisory	Neighborhood	School-issues only	Fenways	M	-	-	M
			Dodgers	M L	-	M L	-
Advisory	Neighborhhod	Multi-issue	Falcons	-	L	-	L
Mixed (A & a)	Neighborhood	Multi-issue	Commons	-	M L	-	M L
Mixed (A & a)	Citywide	School-issues only	Margaritas	-	M L	M L	-
Mixed (S & a)	Neighborhood	Multi-issue	Lakers	-	L	-	L
			Magnolias	-	M L	-	M L
Mixed (S & a)	Citywide	Multi-issue	Braves	-	M L	-	M L
			Patriots	L	M	L	M
Service	Neighborhood	Multi-issue	Grits	M	L	M L	-
			Celtics	-	M L	M	L
Service	Neighborhood	School-issues only	Sunsets	-	M L	L	M

M = Members

L = Leaders

Table 6-3. Leaders' and members' perceptions of organizational influence in budget, curriculum and personnel. (Continued)

Organization data:				Organization involvement by policy area: Personnel selection					
				Teachers		Principals		Other administrators	
Strategy*	Geographic scope	Scope of issues	Organization	Has input, is consulted	Should be consulted, have input	Has input, is consulted	Should be consulted, have input	Has input, is consulted	Should be consulted, have input
Middle-to-upper income				Middle-to-upper income					
Advocacy	Citywide	School-issues only	Omnis	-	L	-	L	-	L
Advocacy	Citywide	Multi-issue	Venturas	-	M L	-	M L	-	M L
Advocacy	Neighborhood	School-issues only	Peachtrees	M L	-	M L	M	M L	-
Service	Citywide	School-issues only	Yankees	-	M L	M	L	M	L
Lower income									
Advisory	Neighborhood	School-issues only	Fenways	-	M	-	M	-	M
			Dodgers	M L	-	M L	-	M L	-
Advisory	Neighborhood	Multi-issue	Falcons	-	L	-	L	-	L
Mixed (A & a)	Neighborhood	Multi-issue	Commons	-	M L	-	M L	-	M L
Mixed (A & a)	Citywide	School-issues only	Margaritas	M	L	M L	-	M L	-
Mixed S & a)	Neighborhood	Multi-issue	Lakers	-	L	-	L	-	L
			Magnolias	-	M L	-	M L	-	M L
Mixed (S & a)	Citywide	Multi-issue	Braves	-	M L	-	M L	-	M L
			Patriots	-	M L	-	M L	-	M L
Service	Neighborhood	Multi-issue	Grits	M L	-	M	L	M	L
			Celtics	-	M L	-	M L	-	M L
Service	Neighborhood	School-issues only	Sunsets	L	M	L	M	L	M

In only one of the 16 organizations studied did members and leaders both agree that the organization was actively involved in all three policy areas (budget, curriculum and personnel). This was the Dodgers, a school mandated group in Los Angles. Their involvement in policy was of an advisory nature. The one other lower-income organization in which the members, at least, felt they were involved in major school policy was the Grits. Leaders saw a narrower influence than members, however, they said that the organization was only involved curriculum and the selection of teachers. The responses and perceptions of members were in sharp contrast to our findings in the meeting observations, which showed that these same organizations spent little, if any, time on school issues (see table 6-1). In three of the four upper-to-middle-income organizations, leaders said their organization had no input in any of the policy areas. In the case of the Yankees, the members felt the organization did have some input in budget and personnel selection. Leaders and members in the Peachtrees stated that the organization had influence in personnel selection. This organization, in fact, does screen principals and other administrators in schools in Atlanta's Northside.

The general perceptions of organization members and leaders was that their organizations were somehow involved in shaping school policy. When asked what type of influence the organization had, they were realistic in responding that they did not have the power to change school policy. They also recognized that decisions regarding budget and personnel selection were closed to community input.

An incident at the May 19th, 1978 Boston School Committee meeting illustrated how difficult it is for community organizations to have impact on the budget. This is especially true in times of fiscal constraint. In a presentation made to the board requesting that budget hearings be held at the district level, the budget director pointed out to the public that the budget was already exceeding its limits and "therefore nothing can be changed." The School Committee agreed to hold district hearings was solely to facilitate the dissemination of information; not to seek community input.

In an interview with site research staff, the superintendent of the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) expressed traditional concerns over nonprofessional participation in personnel matters and rationalized recentralization in personnel selection. The superintendent stated that he did not feel personnel decisions "can be adequately made by area superintendents" and that he "fears intrusion" into personnel selection by Community Advisory Councils. School administrator interviews in all three cities indicated consistent professional concerns about the role of community organizations in policy decisions.

Decisionmakers' Perceptions of Policy and Organizations

One of the most important findings to emerge from the interviews with decisionmakers placed the three major policy areas high on the list of major concerns confronting the school system. This was especially true of budget problems, which received first or second priority in responses in all three cities. In Los Angeles, decisionmakers coupled budget problems with the effects of Proposition 13. In Boston, decisionmakers made note of the unequal distribution of resources throughout the system. In Atlanta, financial problems were mentioned along with the loss of an adequate tax base. Personnel problems were strongly emphasized in Boston, where decisionmakers in the first round of interviews cited the accountability and responsibility of teachers and personnel as the number one item on the list of school system concerns.

Professionals within the system and researchers of school politics also agreed on the impact of these major policy areas, but our data suggest that community organizations did not relate to these priorities. To a large extent this is true because of media coverage. The media play a major role in shaping people's perceptions of the school issues and in determining with which of them community organizations will become involved. In a review of our media reports made over the period of the study we find little if any coverage was given to budget, personnel and curriculum policies. In Los Angeles, coverage of Proposition 13 did provide the public with information on the LAUSD budget. However, the press in general was much more apt to write about school closings, violence in schools, drug abuse by students, and other such topics--all of which conditioned the public's view of the school system. Organizations tended to become involved with these concerns and professional staff continued to dominate major policy.

We asked the decisionmakers we interviewed for their perceptions of the impact community organizations had on the school system and the degree of effectiveness organizations had in implementing policy and developing issues. In Atlanta, decisionmakers cited three out of the six organizations as active participants: the Braves, Peachtrees and Omnis. Two of these are middle-to-upper-income groups; the Peachtrees (one of the middle-income organizations) were cited most often as active. Decisionmakers defined impact as "increasing confidence in the Atlanta Public School System among whites." The Braves, a lower-income organization, were mentioned by two decisionmakers as effective; one felt that the organization had a negative effect on the school system, the other that it was instrumental in integration efforts. The Omnis were mentioned once, with no indication of why or how they were effective. Decisionmakers did not mention the Grits, which--significantly--was the organization which members claimed was involved in all three major school-policy areas. The Falcons and Magnolias were not mentioned either by decisionmakers as effective.

In Boston, two out of the five organizations in the study--the Patriots and Yankees--were cited by decisionmakers as having some impact on the school system. The Yankees, a middle-to-upper-income group, were mentioned most often. Decisionmakers stated that this organization had impact on the selection of the superintendent (a site issue), rating of principals, class size, special needs, and the dissemination of information. The Patriots were mentioned by one decisionmaker as having significant impact in providing services to Hispanic children.

In Los Angeles, the two organizations mentioned by decisionmakers, the Dodgers and Margaritas, were both mandated. Decisionmakers stated that the Dodgers had been successful mainly in just getting more parents involved and asking questions. No influence on policy was cited. The Margaritas were said to have impact on policy concerning the selection of administrators. Los Angeles' decisionmakers stated that those groups most effective with regard to school policy were traditional civic-interest groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the League of Women Voters, and the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA).

It is significant that decisionmakers did not mention the Venturas as influential. In fact, the perception of this organization's members and leaders was that they had no influence on budget, personnel and curriculum (see table 6-3, pp. 134-135). Most other observers of school politics in Los Angeles saw this organization as having some impact. It was a middle-to-upper-income organization which used political action as part of its overall strategy. Interviews with key leaders revealed why decisionmakers did not name this organization. One stated, "I would say our strongest influence has been behind the scenes," while another said, "Working below the surface is very important."

Decisionmakers cited three out of the four middle-to-upper-income organizations in the study as having some impact on school policy, although they were unable to point out concrete examples of the organizations' ability to effect change in policy development. The major role that these organizations had was in making decisionmakers aware of community concerns. It was not surprising, therefore, that the advocacy-orientated middle-income organizations were viewed as the most effective.

SPECIAL SITE POLICY ISSUES

The organizations in the study showed significantly greater involvement in the site issues selected for analysis than in the broader policy areas. It must be kept in mind that these issues were selected by organization members; therefore they reflect members' concerns.

Desegregation

All three sites chose desegregation as one of the major site policy issues currently facing the school system. A controversial issue, desegregation is expected to engender a high level of community participation (Gittell, 1967; Rogers, 1968). Decisionmakers in Boston and Los Angeles also placed desegregation high on the list of school system concerns. This was less true in Atlanta.

In Los Angeles, the site staff coupled desegregation and ethnic diversity as a single issue. Ethnic diversity, including such issues as multicultural/bicultural education and concerns of special ethnic groups, appeared in almost every media report received. Desegregation, including the voluntary busing and pairing programs, staff integration, mandatory pupil assignments, court suits, etc., was also frequently discussed in the news media.

All of the organizations in Los Angeles showed some activity on the desegregation issue. The Dodgers became involved, because a voluntary pairing and clustering scheme for busing was promoted by the school district. However, in the end, the organization did not voluntarily pair or cluster, because the organizations assessed that suitable predominantly Anglo-school partners were not to be found. Pairing or clustering in the absence of educational programming similarities was perceived as seriously detracting from the education program being offered at the local, racially isolated school. The Sunsets, along with other community groups, recommended the development of a particular magnet school for its geographic area, which was subsequently approved. Before this involvement, the organization had a representative on the Citizens Advisory Committee on Student Integration (CACSI). The Margaritas supported the magnet proposal led by the Sunsets and provided assistance in meeting with district officials on the matter. They were also active in establishing their own ad hoc monitoring committee on the district's desegregation plan and in urging and creating integrative appointments in the school system administration. Further, they had representatives on the Citizen Advisory Committee on School Integration (CACSI), and one member (although not as a representative of the organization) sat on the Superior Court Judge Egly's Monitoring Committee. The Venturas, a white middle-to-upper-income organization, were very active in the desegregation issue. Their activities have centered around members (although not as representatives of the organization) serving on Judge Egly's Monitoring Committee and on Monitoring Committee subcommittees, representatives serving on CACSI, and the organization submitting recommendations to the Board. The organization was also in contact with key decisionmakers such as the plaintiffs in the desegregation case, (e.g., the American Civil Liberties Union), and other organizations such as BEST. Due to many internal problems, the Lakers were only involved in the desegregation issue minimally.

In Boston, the media mentioned desegregation frequently over the course of the study. Most articles focused on the activities of the Federal District Court. Topics included pupil assignment plans, school closings, relinquishing court control, busing, progress on desegregation and the hiring of white and black teachers. In Boston, the desegregation issue over the years has stimulated the formation of grassroots community organizations both for and against the court plans.

The five Boston organizations in the study showed varying degrees of involvement in the issue. Three organizations (the Patriots, Commons and Fenways) gave no indication of concern with desegregation as an organization issue. They did, however, interact with the court-mandated organizations on special aspects of the desegregation order. The Patriots were involved in bilingual and special education, the Commons were concerned with bus safety and the Fenways were involved in transportation and United Facilities Plan which focused on school closings. The Celtics, although leaders expressed a concern with desegregation, did not appear to be active on the issue. The Yankees were the only organization which cited desegregation as a goal and a major issue. They were the one middle-to-upper-income organization studied in Boston. The organization has been actively involved in all stages of policymaking on the desegregation issue. Members listed such activities as presentations, workshops, research, reorganizing and drafting plans, pushing for programs in magnet schools; emphasizing special needs, vocational education, safety, security, discipline, and monitoring systems. Not unimportant is the fact that the organization was funded by the State to provide certain services related to the court's plan. The middle-class black organization which refused to take part in the study was directly involved in many aspects of the desegregation issue.

In Atlanta, the desegregation issue was not as pressing as in Boston and Los Angeles. The compromise reached in 1973 seemed to settle the issue for many of the active groups, although the ACLU continued to pursue metropolitan desegregation. Decisionmakers did not place the issue high on the list of school-system concerns. Media coverage of desegregation was not extensive.

Two of the six Atlanta organizations participated in desegregation efforts. Leaders and members in the Braves and Peachtrees viewed desegregation as a major issue. As part of the court decision, the Braves participated in the development stage of the plan. The organization was in contact with other active participants in this stage, the ACLU and the Metro Summit Leadership Conference. The Peachtrees participated in both the development and implementation stages of the plan. By the organization's own measure, its efforts were "somewhat" successful. Actions consisted of letter writing, organizing meetings and open houses, writing and distributing brochures and newsletters. Generally actions involved the collection and dissemination of information. Decisionmakers viewed the organization as one of the more successful in the city. Members showed contact with decisionmakers in both the city and the school system. The organization worked with the business community, specifically the Chamber of Commerce, in addition to working with the media.

Los Angeles - Proposition 13

Proposition 13, now widely publicized, provided for property tax reform and thus directly affects the financing of education. It will cause fundamental changes in school finance policy. For the first year the LAUSD received "bail-out" money from the State's surplus funds. However, if the now-reduced property-tax base cannot generate sufficient funds to maintain an overall surplus, major school financial policy changes will be necessary. Before passage, Proposition 13 was a widely debated issue in Los Angeles; it received extensive press coverage.

The organizations in the study demonstrated limited involvement in anti-Proposition 13 activities; a large part of this limited involvement was the result of individual rather than organizational activities.

Due to the scope of their mandate, the Dodgers were involved only minimally with Proposition 13. The organization informed the school community of the impact Proposition 13 would have on the system by sending home information with students. One activity the organization was involved in was a voter registration drive before the vote, presumably to increase the anti-Proposition 13 turnout. The Lakers also were unable to support anti-Proposition 13 forces, they noted, because of funding conflicts. The issue was discussed at meetings; it was decided that the members of the Lakers should go into their respective neighborhoods and speak against Proposition 13. The Sunsets were also unable to supply resources to any effort to oppose this controversial legislation; its external funding sources had placed constraints on political activity. It did, however, send anti-Proposition 13 letters out to its network and was part of an East Los Angeles coalition against the initiative. The Margaritas participated in this coalition and also presented their position before the Board of Education. The Venturas donated money to a coalition against Proposition 13. They also held a public forum on the proposition at which Governor Brown and the School Board president opposed Proposition 13. The organization itself took a public position against the initiative. This is the one middle-to-upper-income organization in Los Angeles; the site researcher pointed out that this organization's support for the anti-Proposition 13 forces was not well accepted by some members who paid heavy property taxes.

The clear-cut evidence that community organizations were facing the reality of political constraints on advocacy roles because of their service funding sources was most manifest in the foregoing description of the role of a community organization on so vital an issue as Proposition 13. Although other approaches were devised to adjust to the circumstances, we have serious concern about the future of advocacy--even on such vital issues--as a strategy for community organizations.

Collective Bargaining - The Rodda Act

The most pertinent clause of the Rodda Act is the "sunshine" clause, which calls for dissemination to the public and receipt of their reaction to the initial proposals of the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) and the Los Angeles School Board in collective bargaining agreements. It was through the efforts of the League of Women Voters that the sunshine clause was added to the legislation. Citizens have extended rights to receive information and make responses; they were seeking measures to change the law and to provide for observation of closed negotiation sessions and the adoption of the concept of "three-party bargaining."

Although selected as a major area of local policy and one in which citizen participation is provided for, the organizations in the study participated in negligible ways on this issue. The Margaritas were one of the first to call for the implementation of the sunshine clause. To implement this clause in the LAUSD, the Board created a Sunshine Committee, in which representation was based upon administrative areas. The chairperson of the Sunshine Committee was the ex-coordinator of the Margaritas. The second was a leader of the Venturas. The March 1978 meeting of the Education Committee of this organization was devoted to collective bargaining. The Lakers considered this issue too controversial for their involvement; no other organization became involved with the issue.

Boston - Selection of a New Superintendent

The recent history of citizen participation in the selection of Boston's superintendent of schools dates from 1972, when the issue of a new superintendent generated the public interest that resulted in the formation of the Yankees. In response to the initiative the Yankees took that year, the School Committee established an advisory group of school personnel and Home and School Association (HSA) leaders to recommend criteria that the committee should consider in deciding upon the next superintendent of schools. Three years later, when the School Committee again decided to replace the incumbent superintendent, it made no similar invitation for public consultation.

Robert Wood's candidacy for superintendent was recommended and supported by the Community Advisory Screening Committee. The Screening Committee has 16 members, with representation from parent groups, student, and community organizations, business, teachers and the School Committee.

The Boston press gave the selection of the superintendent good coverage, a large part of which was editorial. An article in the Boston Globe on July 14, 1978, stated: "It is the first time in recent memory that the process of selecting a school superintendent has been open to such public scrutiny and open comment."

Of the organizations in the study, two were actively involved with regard to the selection of the superintendent. The Patriots and Yankees both issued public statements supporting Robert Wood. The Yankees, in a letter to David Finnegan, president of the School Committee, stated, "On behalf of the Board of Directors, staff and constituents of [the Yankees], we would like to express our appreciation to you... for your support of the community screening process which has assisted the School Committee in its search for a superintendent of the Boston Public Schools." Both the Patriots and Yankees had representatives on the Screening Committee. The Commons discussed the selection of the superintendent in meetings but did not initiate any action to become involved. The Celtics and Fenways were not involved in this issue.

School Safety

School safety in Boston was one of the major issues facing the school system as a result of the court-mandated desegregation in 1974. Media coverage of this issue was extensive. The Battle of Boston (Hillson, 1977), which analyzes the desegregation process, includes horrific anecdotes of racial confrontations that resulted from busing of students throughout the city. The issue centered in largely local, neighborhood-based concerns. The two organizations in our study most concerned with this issue were connected closely with a local school. The Fenways, created by court mandate, were established largely to monitor the desegregation of that local school and to make sure that the transition was a safe one. The organization concurred with this aspect of its mandate: it was involved with the monitoring aspect of policy. The Commons were also concerned with school safety, they are also neighborhood based. None of the other organizations participated in or became involved with the issue of school safety either on a policy level or within the neighborhood.

Atlanta — Declining Enrollments

In the second round of decisionmaker interviews, declining enrollment was the most frequent response to the question: "What would you say are the major issues confronting the school system?" School closings were directly related to declining enrollments and were an issue that could be expected to stimulate community action.

The major goal of the Peachtrees was to reinstill confidence in Atlanta's public schools and to stem the tide of white flight. To achieve this, they disseminated information through the press, workshops, open houses, brouchures, etc. The organization also worked diligently at influencing the allocation of resources to schools in the Northside which received returning students. Organization members and leaders, as well as city and school decisionmakers, all saw this organization as being effective in attaining its goal of bringing white students back into Atlanta's public schools. The organization has attacked school closings in the Northside. Parent groups in other sections of the city have, on an ad hoc basis, objected to and resisted closings. None of the other organizations from Atlanta became involved with this issue.

Educational Outcomes

In Atlanta, the superintendent referred constantly to the need to improve reading scores throughout the system. In the first round of decisionmaker interviews, the "inability of the school system to properly educate children" was identified as the major issue confronting the school system. Low achievement levels in basic skills were used to support this conclusion. The Grits dealt with the issue of educational outcomes largely by providing alternative education services for dropouts and potential dropouts. They established their own programs rather than trying to influence school system policy. Two of the issues leaders of the Omnis identified were the lack of preparation in basic subject areas and the poor quality of high school graduates.

In Los Angeles as in Atlanta the site team cited concern for quality education as a major issue. However, organizations' programs demonstrated little intent in programs or goals directed to these ends. Educational outcomes were directly related to allocation of resources (budget, personnel and curriculum) and, as has already been noted, there was little organizational involvement or impact in these areas by any of the organizations.

Summary

Community organizations generally avoid and are virtually powerless in all aspects of policymaking in the major policy areas of budget, personnel, and curriculum. Discretion in decisionmaking in these areas remained in the hands of the professional bureaucracies. Organizations showed greater involvement and impact on neighborhood issues. It may be that they chose these issues because they believed they could have more influence. Our analysis also demonstrates a direct relationship between the media coverage of these issues and the trend of interest of organizations. Even in these areas, however, the organizations studied were not as active as expected. To the extent that community organizations became involved in school policy, it was a reactive rather than a proactive involvement and occurred in the monitoring or evaluation phase.

ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS

One determinant of an organization's effectiveness is its ability to meet its stated goals. Whether an organization is internally or externally dependent will influence the development, the character, and the quality of goals. The functions of mandated organizations are prescribed for them and many service organizations are restricted in the types of issues they can pursue due to the constraints of outside funding sources. Our analysis distinguishes policy or program goals from maintenance goals. Almost a priori, continuation of the organization is the primary goal of any organization. As Wilson puts it, "Whatever else organizations seek, they seek to survive," (Wilson, 1973). There are ad hoc organizations formed for short-term purposes without the founders intending to continue them, but such groups were specifically excluded in the selection process for this study (see Chapter II: Research Methods and Procedures). There are stated and unstated goals for an organization; these may vary with the individual goals of members and leaders or subgroups within the organization. Goals may change over time and several of the organizations in this study began as advocacy organizations and became service organizations. How well-planned and thought out these changes are can be important to their ultimate effectiveness.

Program Goals

The 16 organizations participating in this study had a wide range of stated policy goals. These goals were broadly concerned with human services and more specifically with educational services and school systems. The range of interests reflected the participation of multipurpose organizations in the study.

As shown in the leadership questionnaires (item 23), the goals of middle-to-upper-income organizations generally differed from those of the lower-income organizations. In all four of the middle-to-upper-income organizations, leaders unanimously responded that the goal of the organization was to deal with problems within the school system. In one case, the Venturas' leaders also identified changing the functioning of government and the overall political system as a goal. Three of the four middle-to-upper-income organizations pursued advocacy as an organizational strategy. In the lower-income organizations, leaders were more apt to say that the primary goal of the organization was to alleviate the economic and social needs of the community. In fact, in 7 of the 10 lower-income organizations responding to this question, leaders unanimously mentioned community development as an objective. Only the Margaritas, a mandated ethnic commission of the LAUSD, did not cite community development. Dealing with problems within the school system was not as important as overall community development for lower-income organizations, even when they were organized around school issues. The communities in which they existed showed great economic and social needs (leadership questionnaire, item 27a).

Item 31 of the membership questionnaire asked respondents to describe actions taken related to the issues the organization was involved with (see Appendix E: Questionnaire Data). The majority of responses fell into the category of cooperation with the school system and/or government. All of the middle-to-upper-income organizations responding to this question stated that they worked with the system. Four of the lower-income organizations did not give this response; all four were multi-issue in scope. Only two of our organizations stated they used any confrontational tactics at all with the school system or government; both were lower-income organizations the Braves and Fenways. The Braves in Atlanta were one of the few organizations in our study concerned with political issues (e.g., welfare rights). The Fenways were a court-mandated organization in Boston. The confrontation their leaders described was with the principal of the school, who was supposed to work with the organization but in the opinion of many members was an obstacle to their activities. In Los Angeles, it was not suprising that none of the organizations were involved in confrontative actions. As noted by several organizational leaders: "It is not a good idea to show public opposition to the LAUSD"; rather, organizations were more successful in having impact if they worked with the system or else behind the scenes. An one organizational leader put it:

> "There seems to be an unwritten policy [in the LAUSD] to stand firm and not bend to parent groups that demonstrate or cause disruption in making their demands known. In fact, it often appears that only the most cautious and courteous dealings with administrators and board members are likely to meet with success. It is also clear that behind-the-scenes conferences with individual board members are the best policy."

The two advocacy organizations which responded to this question mentioned that public relations was one of the primary actions the organization used in trying to realize its goals. This was especially true of the Peachtrees in Atlanta. Actions involving community development were also often mentioned by organizational leaders, especially in the lower-income organizations. A large part of this was merely attitudinal, such as raising community consciousness.

When members were asked if their organization had any impact on community development, overwhelmingly the responses were positive (membership questionnaire, item 35). Only in the Fenways did the members agree that the organization did not have impact. In the Margaritas, another mandated organization, an equal number of members responded positively and negatively to this question. The impact cited largely refers to increasing community consciousness. Examples of visible impact were cited by only two of the organizations, the Commons and Celtics, both citing housing improvements. The Magnolias and Patriots cited increased social services, three others (the Falcons, Grits and Dodgers) felt their organizations had impact in improving recreational facilities.

Leaders of lower-income organizations were more likely to say that the main obstacle to an organization's achievement of its goals was problems with internal maintenance (item 26). It is noteworthy that only one of the four middle-to-upper-income organizations mentioned problems with maintenance. This was the one middle-to-upper-income organization which used a service strategy, while the other

Table 6-4. Initial and current goals of the organizations.

Organization	Mandated or nonmandated	Date of establishment	Initial goals	Current goals
Braves	NM	1967	● welfare rights ● health ● tenants' rights ● education ● development of political action clubs	● welfare rights ● tenants' rights ● job skills development ● political clubs ● metropolitan school system
Peachtrees	NM	1976	● enrichment programs in local schools ● return white students to school system ● local principal selection	● declining enrollments ● publicizing positive aspects of school system ● personnel ● curriculum ● tuition tax credit ● halt white flight
Falcons	M	1975	● long range development plan ● transportation ● local redevelopment	● recreation ● transportation ● crime ● zoning and land use ● housing redevelopment ● local school closing ● jobs
Omnis	NM	1977	● overcrowding at local school ● increase student achievement	● unequal allocation of education resources ● increase student achievement ● basic skills ● personnel
Grits	NM	1971	● economic redevelopment ● housing ● local recreation facilities ● high school equivalency ● special education programs	● economic redevelopment ● housing ● employment ● child advocacy ● special education programs

Table 6-4. Initial and current goals of the organizations. (continued)

Organization	Mandated or nonmandated	Date of establishment	Initial goals	Current goals
Magnolias	NM	1953	• economic development • transportation • health • local school facilities	• transportation • energy • community facilities
Patriots	NM	1969	• needs assessment for Hispanic community • referral to government social service agencies	• emergency service • advocacy • transportation • counseling, guidance • employment • tutoring • bilingual services • home management • economic development • increase home ownership • special education
Yankees	NM	1972	• influence selection of school superintendent	• parent organizing • magnet schools • information dissemination • special needs • new superintendent search • reorganization of school bureaucracy • desegregation • safety
Commons	M	1967	• information dissemination to tenants • housing project operation	• transportation • local schools program and staff • basic skills • project facilities • school discipline
Celtics	NM	1968	• economic development • housing • locally controlled businesses	• economic development • housing • property management • vocational education • local businesses

Table 6-4. Initial and current goals of the organizations. (continued)

Organization	Mandated or nonmandated	Date of establishment	Initial goals	Current goals
Fenways	M	1974	• student safety • communication between parents	• student safety • school facilities • information dissemination • school programs
Dodgers	M	1962	• funding proposals for special programs • information dissemination • comprehensive program planning	• special program funding • comprehensive program planning and review • personnel • desegregation
Margaritas	M	1968	• review educational outcomes for clients • implementation of recommended programs • information dissemination	• collective bargaining • affirmative action • bilingual education • desegregation • students' rights
Sunsets	NM	1970	• information dissemination to parents • parent training	• desegregation • magnet schools • parent training • student achievement • bilingual education
Lakers	NM	1956	• service referral • research on local needs • health	• desegregation • Title I • mental health • emerging services • local research
Venturas	NM	1963	• monitor and work for political candidates and issues	• desegregation • ERA • abortion • health • affirmative action • environmental issues • children's television programming • housing • prisoners' rights • civil rights • defense spending • tax reform • support of political candidates

three all engaged in advocacy. For the advocacy organizations, obstacles mostly lay in resistance from the political system. All the leaders of lower-income organizations who responded to leadership questionnaire item 26 cited problems with internal maintenance.

Changes in Goals

Several of the organizations in this study have expanded their initial stated goals. Table 6-4 shows the initial goals and the current goals of the organizations. The initial goals are taken from background documents (e.g., charters) and questionnaires (see Appendix E: Questionnaire Data, item 10) while the revised or operation goals were identified through an analysis of the leadership interviews (see Appendix F: Interview Data) and the meeting observation notes.

As table 6-4 indicates, a wide range of issues covered by the various organizations have been replaced or dropped. We can divide the organizations into those which have remained essentially the same and those which have significantly expanded their activities. Using this distinction, 10 organizations appear to have largely retained the same goals while 6 have expanded their activities.

The length of time an organization had been in existence proved to be an important variable in looking at the extent to which it had expanded its goals. Table 6-5 illustrates this point.

Table 6-5. Time factor in the expansion of organizational goals.

Period of organization's existence	Same Goals	Expanded Goals
Less than 5 years	4	1
5-10 years	3	4
More than 10 years	3	1
	10	6

Table 6-5 suggests a number of ideas about the ability of the organizations to change their goals. Most organizations retain their initial goals. This finding is especially applicable to organizations less than five or more than ten years old. Organizations in existence between five and ten years old showed a greater tendency to alter their initial goals. This finding suggested that developing organizations (less than five years old) established their goals and worked toward them with little deviation. Older organizations (more than ten years) had established identities and patterns of behavior which resulted in their remaining active in those areas they knew best. It was the intermediate period (five to ten years) in which an organization may have felt satisfied that it had accomplished its initial goals and as a result expanded into new areas. If this finding is accurate, then the five-to-ten-year period is essential to an organization's existence.

One can note differences among the organizations by city in terms of changes in goals. In Atlanta, all the participating organizations remained focused on their initial goals. This may be partly due to the fact that half of the Atlanta organizations were less than five years old. However, our other data would suggest that the political environment in Atlanta was such that organizations were given a limited place in the system and the organizations limited their roles accordingly. In Boston and Los Angeles, the organizations showed a greater tendency to expand their activities. In each city, three organizations had expanded their goals.

Responses to the membership questionnaires indicated a low level of change in organizational goals and showed that changes were more prevalent in those organizations which employed service as strategy. Table 6-6 is based on data from item 11 of the membership questionnaire.

Table 6-6. Does the organization have the same goals as when it began?

Strategy		Percent Yes	Percent No	Percent No Response*
Advocacy	(n=15)	80	7	13
Service	(n=25)	40	36	24
Advisory	(n=17)	41	6	53
Mixed:				
Advisory-advocacy	(n-18)	28	6	67
Service-advocacy	(n=14)	50	21	29

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*The large number of no responses is partly due to the fact that many members were not involved in the organization at its inception. (Note that "no responses" are more common in those organizations using an advisory strategy.)

This table shows that a change in goals was much more likely to occur in those organizations which employed a service strategy. For those organizations which showed change, the process of redefinition of goals can be significant in terms of the ability or willingness of the leadership to include members in that decisionmaking process. For service organizations, the shift in goals may reflect a recognition of new areas of potential funding rather than a thoughtful determination of areas of priority or need. Overall, this table shows a low level of change taking place. Our meeting observation notes strongly support this finding. In only two organizations (the Peachtrees and Yankees) did we find that questions of organization goals were openly discussed in meetings that allowed members the chance to participate in that process. The low level of change indicated that either there was no reason to adjust goals or that the organizations were not responsive to shifting issues in the community.

The Life Span of Organizations

One of the subtypes of the systems model is the survival model. The survival model is a set of recommendations which, if fulfilled, allows the system to exist: each relationship specified is a prerequisite for the functioning of the system. If any relationship is removed, the system ceases to exist (Etzioni, 1964). The length of time the organization has been in existence should suggest in some way its continuing value and effectiveness. The staying power of an organization can, however, also reflect the lack of competitive activity in the community.

The four middle-to-upper-income organizations in this study have been in existence an average of 6 years; the lower-income organizations have been functioning for an average of 11 years. One of the lower-income organizations (the Lakers) moved from an advocacy to a service role which allowed it to maintain itself although its functions and goals had changed. This is also true of one of the middle-to-upper-income organizations (the Yankees). The other three middle-class organizations have continued their advocacy roles.

Organizational Maintenance

The majority of our organizations showed a high degree of concern for maintenance activities; a concern which held true for most types of organizations (except those offering an advocacy-advisory thrust). Table 6-7 shows the average amount of time spent on maintenance concerns by organizational strategy, as reflected in organization minutes.

Table 6-7. Average percentage of meeting time spent on maintenance issues.

Organizational Strategy	Percent of time spent
Advocacy	48
Service	57
Advisory	42
Mixed:	
Advocacy-service	46
Advocacy-advisory	29

Organizations other than the advocacy-advisory strategy group attached a high level of importance to maintenance issues. Rather than finding self-initiated organizations spending more time on maintenance concerns than externally-dependent organizations, we see a fairly consistent pattern. The finding that mandated organizations placed significant emphasis on maintenance activities was not an expected one. Our initial view was that such organizations would be relatively free of such pressures because of support from the external mandating institution. We assumed that these organizations would be free to pursue substantive issues. This anticipated advantage of mandated involvement did not hold. Additionally, the emphasis advisory organizations placed on maintenance can be contrasted to the comparatively low level of interest advocacy-advisory organizations placed on it. The two mandated organizations which went beyond their advisory role to pursue advocacy strategies devoted less time to maintenance and more time to issues.

The nature of the maintenance activity differed among the several types of organizations. Advocacy organizations were concerned with increasing their membership base. As a part of their strategy they were also concerned with publicity surrounding their activities and positions as well as their contacts with other organizations. Service organizations were primarily involved in securing continuing funding and matters related to organization staff. Mandated organizations' maintenance concerns were primarily related to their contacts with other mandated organizations and their own internal structure; to filling vacant positions and maintaining or creating subcommittee structures.

As shown in our reports of the meetings of the eight service and advocacy-service organizations, questions pertaining to staffing issues predominated. In three of these organizations (the Patriots, Celtics, and Sunsets), staffing discussions were the number one issue. In one organization (the Yankees), funding was the primary concern with staff questions receiving significant attention. In the Lakers, there was little evidence of staffing discussions in their meeting minutes; however, in this case, an outside funding agency appointed the staff director and the question of change was not publicly dealt with.

Membership questionnaires show the importance of staff in organizational decisionmaking (membership questionnaire, item 16a). Of those organizations which had paid staff, only one indicated that the staff was not important in decisionmaking All other organizations identified the staff as important or very important.

Organizational maintenance is most simply measured by the length of the time the organization remains in existence. Other researchers (including Perlman, 1976) have suggested that the independent life span of a community organization may be five years. Yet our organizations show surprising longevity, with 11 organizations having been in existence for more than five years (see Table 6-5). The organizational selection process led us to those organizations which by reputation were well known in the city and therefore it is likely we chose organizations which were successful in maintaining themselves.

The effect that external funding sources can have on an organization's internal maintenance is significant. Of the 16 organizations in the study, 13 receive funds from external sources--all of the lower-income organizations fell into this category. One of the organizations provides an example of the influence that an external funder can have. The activities of the organization were largely determined by funding from United Way. A conflict between the local organizations and United Way resulted in the appointment of a new staff person. Because of this conflict, the organization had to spend a majority of its time on maintenance. Our research reported no real programmatic decisions being made. It was this organization, undergoing significant internal change, which was unwilling to respond to the questionnaires (see Appendix E: Questionnaire Data). United Way has enabled the organization to continue as an entity but has limited the ability of its members to decide on its future course.

CONCLUSIONS

One component in our approach to analyzing the effectiveness of community organizations was to look at the extent to which an organization achieved its objectives. All of our 16 organizations have strong survival qualities, even if these require major shifts in strategies. The time organizations spend on maintenance can certainly be shown to pay off. The organizations which have changed goals have generally done so in response to external factors rather than as a result of internal deliberation and consensus.

Members of an organization were quick to say that it had been "effective" in achieving its goals. Our observations have shown little evidence to support this contention, especially in those cases where an organization stated broad social goals. The behavior of our organizations indicates that these broad social goals are pursued with narrow or minimal activity.

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Chapter VI

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VII.

THE POLITICS OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION ACCESS

INTRODUCTION

A Model for School System Analysis

As the structure of the study indicates, we consider urban school systems to be political subsystems influenced by external forces, primarily by the city political culture, State local relations, and ultimately, by the Federal Government. The model we have constructed recognizes these external variables, but also focuses on the internal organization and structure of the subsystem.

Our model of politics in the urban school subsystem is based in part upon a selective summary of the relevant literature. As will be explained in detail below, our emphasis on the role and impact of bureaucracy would be supported by a majority of those who have analyzed large urban school systems. The notion of bureaucratic openness follows in part from this proposition. If the bureaucracy is the most powerful actor, then its openness to community participation is crucial.

The general idea that people participate when they believe they have a chance to influence policy also adds to the importance of bureaucratic openness. Thus we reject the significance of the research that finds that social status or education levels determine participation (Lane, 1959) and are more concerned with the contrary findings that people with low socioeconomic status do participate under certain circumstances. We also reject the unproven conclusion that material incentives are required to stimulate participation of the poor (Wilson, 1973).

Only a few studies have examined the issue of bureaucratic openness. We have followed the lines of inquiry established by these studies in selecting the specific variables which open or close the bureaucracy to community participation and, as a result of our own findings, have added to that construct. The importance of certain variables, such as bureaucratic routinization, was well supported by the literature and by reports from activists. In testing other variables, such as the social backgrounds of administrators, we were investigating comparatively unexplored territory.

Most analysts agree that before 1900 urban school systems were decentralized; they were run by locally elected boards that followed the dictates of machine politicians. Middle- and upper-class groups, often led by professional educators, reacted against what they perceived as the attendant corruption and inefficiency of that system. Gaining the upper hand in most American cities around the turn of the century, reformers abolished the wards, and established a centralized school system overseen by a lay board and run by professional administrators (Cronin, 1973; Ravitch, 1974; Katz, 1968). Professional control over school systems has grown and expanded since that time.

The model we have developed stresses the centrality of the headquarters bureaucracy in the contemporary large urban school system. In part this focus derives from general works on modern organization and government which conclude that bureaucracy is the dominant element. (The classic analysis is by Weber, 1946; for a contemporary summary see Rourke, 1976.) In part we draw upon the literature on urban politics which makes bureaucratic agencies the main elements of autonomous "decision centers" (Sayre and Kaufman, 1965) or "islands of functional power" (David and Peterson, 1976), and in part upon the literature on urban school politics, which finds the central bureaucracies to be the most powerful actors (Gittell, 1967; Gittell and Hollander, 1968; Rogers, 1968; Ravitch, 1974). We have also drawn upon those conceptions of urban school politics that stress organizational theory, i.e., the usefulness of treating the school system as a single organization (Peterson, 1976).

Not all writers agree on the primacy of the bureaucracy; some would stress the role of school boards (Bendiner, 1969). Our research has indicated support for the majority that do emphasize the bureaucracy and has led us to affirm the limited decisionmaking power of the boards.

Having established that the bureaucracy should be the main focus, we placed our attention on the factors that either open or close the bureaucracy to community participation.

The notion of bureaucratic openness derives from several sources. Gittell and Hollander (1968) present a model of the urban school system which includes the idea that certain administrative structures may encourage innovation. Two specific characteristics are incorporated, in modified form, in our model. The first is the index of internalization, designed to measure the insularity of the bureaucracy. Our model extends this by including as a variable the relation between the backgrounds of bureaucrats and the backgrounds of members of community groups. The prediction is that similarity will promote participation, while sharp differences in ethnic, racial, and class backgrounds will limit community participation.

The extent of decentralization, which Gittell and Hollander suggest influences receptivity to innovation, is the second variable. We hypothesize that it will affect openness to the community as follows. The more decentralized the system, i.e., the more power over curriculum, budget, and personnel decisions is vested in local officials, the greater will be the openness to community participation.

Many authors stress the importance of external forces such as Federal and State institutions and regulations. In their study of decentralization, LaNoue and Smith (1973) state that advocates of decentralization often successfully sought the help of outside authorities. Our analysis indicates that external influences may promote bureaucratic openness partly because outsiders are usually attempting to change the bureaucracy's policies. On the other hand, external influence can remove the decisionmaking process from the local level, making it more difficult for community organizations to participate in school politics. Thus, the effect of outside influences depends in part on the response of community groups.

The importance of information as a stimulant to participation was noted by Fantini, Gittell, and Magut in their study of community control (1970). The publication of reading scores on a school-by-school basis gave New York City parents (especially black and Puerto Rican parents) clear indications that their children were not learning to read in New York City's public schools. The impulse to move toward community control was an inevitable next step. Minority groups saw the central bureaucracy as unwilling or unable to educate their children or to integrate them with whites. Therefore, the bureaucracy's claim to continued control was illegitimate. Information on school performance thus helped to trigger the campaign to establish community control.

Access to information is crucial to meaningful participation in budget, curriculum, and personnel decisions. David Rogers, in his study of the struggle to integrate New York City's schools (1968), found that lack of information prevented influential participation. Again and again, civil rights groups were presented with *faits accomplis*, or misled about the bureaucracy's plans until it was too late to challenge them. A group which does not know the dates of meetings, the number of available positions, the qualifications of candidates, or the deadlines for budget modifications--to name a few salient examples--cannot begin to influence decisions. Research on New York City's decentralized system indicates that bureaucrats use control of information to keep community groups out of power (Gittell, et al., 1970). Knowledge is one factor that distinguishes the powerful from the powerless; the powerful, by monopolizing information, can prevent others from sharing power.

Closely related to these last two points, and often merged with them in the sources noted, are the variables "access to the bureaucrats themselves" and "access to bureaucratic procedures." The latter, in its negative form, may be called "bureaucratic routinization." If a community organization can confront the superintendent in large public meetings, its chances for gaining publicity and mass support are greatly enhanced. Access to other processes, to smaller and more private meetings, for example, provides a chance to gain crucial knowledge and self-confidence, and to establish personal relations, and even to influence decisions.

The extent of bureaucratic routinization is closely tied to the growing influence of organized professionals in school politics--a factor amply documented by Braun, 1972; Mayer, 1969; Berube and Gittell, 1969; and Rosenthal, 1969. For the purposes of our model, the most important form of such influence is closing bureaucratic decisions to community organizations. This can be done in many ways. Contracts may close off whole decision areas. Contractual provisions may determine major areas of policy such as selection and deployment of personnel, work hours, even curriculum, thus excluding the community from input to decisions on these topics.

Routinization of procedures, such as in the budget process, is the most effective means of closing access. Under routinization, allocation of resources and program decisions are made quietly, behind closed doors, by a small number of professionals.

In considering the variables that promote or retard bureaucratic openness, we must take into account the type of issue involved. The bureaucracy can be expected to be more open to groups seeking influence on specific distributive questions--who will be hired as principal at school X, how a certain grant will be spent, which marginal school will be closed--than on fundamental questions of allocation of resources, or a basic skills plan for the whole system. On what Peterson (1976) calls "ideological issues," e.g., desegregation, deliberation is less likely. It is one thing to argue about who will be hired to fill a single principalship; it is a quite different thing to argue about a policy, about who will hire all the principals. On these ideological issues there may well be community involvement, but no real exercise of community power.

The general usefulness of the concept of bureaucratic openness rests on the idea, proposed and confirmed by Gittell, et al. (1970) in their study of the New York City experimental district in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, that a real opportunity for power stimulates participation. (For a similar argument applied to national politics see Burnhan, 1970.) The study demonstrated that poor people in particular will respond to a chance to influence policy. Despite the theory that only immediate, tangible, personal rewards will motivate the poor (Wilson, 1973), it is hard to imagine a more effective motive than this one. By gaining influence over school policy, parents can enhance their children's daily and future lives, including upgrading their chances for success.

Given the strength of such motives, it is likely that the absence of influential parent involvement is caused by the school system. The ample documentation of poor educational results reinforces this conclusion. With their children not learning to read, parents' interests in school policy and management matters would naturally intensify. Yet, participation seems to have actually declined.

Our focus on bureaucracy allows us to explain this anomaly in the most logical and economic way. Since it can be shown that people in general, and poor people in particular, do participate when the system is open to them and when their most important interests are at stake, there must be other obstacles that prevent their participation.

The bureaucratic structure itself must be a factor. The majority of the analysts of urban school politics have reached a similar conclusion, stressing the dominance of bureaucracy. Combining their notions with our own findings gives us the specific concept of bureaucratic openness on which to focus our study.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

- Access to the policy process influences the effectiveness of community organization. For this study access is defined in terms of the level of decentralization, the availability of decisionmakers, representativeness of school decisionmakers, and the operating style of the school board.

- The three cities show no significant differences in the level of political decentralization of their school systems. The absence of such meaningful decentralization limits the access organizations have to the school system.

- Organizations in Los Angeles have more contact with school system decisionmakers than they do in Atlanta or Boston. Organization members in Los Angeles indicate a more negative view of the school system than the members in the other two cities.

- The level of representativeness of school system personnel of the general population does not affect the ability of organizations to gain access to the school system.

- Organizations tend to rely on organizational or individual network contacts for information on school issues. They do not rely on the school system for information.

- Though the school boards in Atlanta, Boston and Los Angeles, can be described as having significantly different operating styles, those differences do not result in different levels of organization effectiveness.

MEASURING SCHOOL SYSTEM OPENNESS TO PARTICIPATION

We define bureaucratic openness in five areas: (1) level of decentralization, (2) availability of school decisionmakers, (3) representativeness of school decisionmakers, (4) information flow, and (5) operating style. Our assumption in conducting this comparative analysis was that we could draw conclusions regarding the relative openness of these political subsystems (school systems) which could explain the differences in level of participation of community organizations. The more open the system, the more likely it would be that community organizations would be active and effective.

LEVEL OF DECENTRALIZATION

We hypothesized that decentralization would be important to the analysis of how community organizations function because if policy decisions are brought closer to the citizens, it should encourage their participation in the policymaking process. To the extent that power is actually decentralized, organizations are more likely to get information and have access to decisionmakers, especially in the local decentralized offices, which can potentially be more responsive to neighborhood concerns.

All three sites in the study contend that their school systems are "decentralized." What we have found, in fact, is that in each city this decentralization is administrative rather than political. Political decentralization would include an actual delegation of power to the local level, and the expansion of nonprofessional participants in the policymaking process, as compared to administrative decentralization which relies on varying degrees of devolution of decisionmaking to field professionals.

All three city school systems have decentralized administrative units. Atlanta has six area school districts and four administrative areas. Each of the four administrative areas has its own superintendent, responsible to the associate superintendent of operations, who in turn reports to the superintendent.

Boston is divided into nine districts, each with its own superintendent. Before the management reorganization of the system implemented in September 1978, the district or community superintendents were responsible to the deputy superintendent, who reported to the superintendent. The reorganization has altered this line of authority. The community superintendents now report to a new office, that of District Relations and Standards. The old position of deputy superintendent has given way to two positions: deputy superintendent for academic operations, and deputy superintendent for management operations. The deputy superintendents jointly oversee the Office of District Relations and Standards, and are responsible to the superintendent.

Los Angeles also has recently reorganized its administrative structure. The number of administrative areas has been reduced from 12 to 10. Each area has its own superintendent. Previous to reorganization, these area superintendents were responsible to the deputy superintendent of operations, who in turn reported to the superintendent. With reorganization, there is only one deputy superintendent (previously there had been two, one for operations and one for instruction). The deputy superintendent oversees the area superintendents, and reports to the superintendent.

A report on the Los Angeles Unified School District management structure completed by the Citizen's Management Review Committee (CMRC) in June 1977, found that area and local levels had limited decisionmaking latitude and that little input from lower levels was sought until after decisions were made.

The report stated:

> While the LAUSD's mandate assumes decentralization, the Board and the Central Offices' administrative staff seem reluctant to delegate the requisite decisionmaking authority. The concept of decentralization has not been properly understood and, despite the mandate, authority remains essentially centralized.
>
> Area administrative offices are perceived as playing a monitoring and enforcement role on behalf of the central administration. They serve as support of information agencies to interpret policy and to coordinate efforts but do not direct specific implementation and most are not involved in major decisions.

The findings of the CMRC report were confirmed by the Los Angeles site staff in the various reports on the LAUSD which they submitted to us.

In the first round of decisionmaker interviews done for this study, two decisionmakers in Boston identified the lack of decentralization as being one of the major issues facing the school system. The superintendent at that time also discussed the issue of decentralization in an early interview. When asked what were the major sources of power in the Boston schools, the superintendent first identified the Massachusetts Department of Education; the School Committee was second, followed by the school administration headquarters staff, and the Boston Teachers Union (BTU)--last on the list. No power was identified at the district level. Later in the interview, the superintendent stated that she was in favor of decentralization, but pointed out that the School Committee and the BTU opposed it.

Most observers suggest that the recent reorganization of the school system will not result in political decentralization. In fact, the current organizational setup enhances the power and authority of the superintendent and "affirms the School Committee's prerogative as the ultimate policymaking body of the Boston School System."

In Atlanta, before reorganization of the system during the 1956-57 school year, the 120 principals were directly responsible to the superintendent. The reorganization created the position of area superintendent, and was charged to be "administratively responsible for the operation of the school program in the area." Outside their administrative duties, area superintendents had little power. Currently only two of the four area superintendents have formal Citizen Advisory Councils. In the third round of decisionmakers interviews (completed in early 1979), respondents were asked to identify the major decisionmakers in the Atlanta Public Schools. Not one person cited as decisionmakers area superintendents or any personnel found at the district level. The superintendent and the board president were the two decisionmakers identified most often. Several influential actors outside the system were also mentioned, e.g., the Chamber of Commerce, the Atlanta Council of PTA's, and certain community groups.

The associate superintendent discussed decentralization of the system in an interview. He stated that he and the superintendent were attempting to move toward greater decentralization but were meeting resistance from middle-management people, i.e., area superintendents and principals. He indicated that area superintendents chose the principals although, in fact, the final decisions are made by him and supported by the superintendent. Two of the area superintendents still wanted to interview all teacher candidates. In fact, in some cases, they actually chose among teacher candidates for individual schools even though the superintendent's clear policy was that the principals select their own teachers. He and the superintendents supported about 60 to 65 percent of the area superintendents' first choices for principals. The area superintendents had some, but by no means full or final, budget control: the associate superintendent is required to approve all budget decisions. Federal programs were administered centrally under the associate superintendent's direction, although each area superintendent's office had representatives for Federal programs. The athletic program was administered centrally; the area superintendents were reluctant to touch it because it was both complex and controversial. The associate superintendent stated that an outside observer would have to conclude that Atlanta had "a very weak form of administrative decentralization"; in fact, many of the things which he and the superintendent have accomplished (such as equalizing of expenditures among schools across the city), were achieved through a highly centralized process of decisionmaking.

Networking

In looking at the networking data reported in the study, it is apparent that the majority of contacts between our organizations and school administrators take place at the central level (see table 7-1). A total of 21 contacts was revealed at the central level, while only 6 contacts were found at the local, district and State levels. If political decentralization did exist, one would expect more contacts at the district level. The organizations perceived that in order to have impact on policy decisions they had to rely on contact with administrators at the central level. The table also shows that the contacts made at the district level were between administrators and neighborhood-based organizations. Of our three site cities, Los Angeles had the highest number of contacts at the district level, followed by Atlanta, and with Boston showing none. Most contacts at the central level were made by citywide organizations.

All this evidence suggests that, in fact, no appreciable political decentralization has taken place in any of the three school districts. Decisions were highly centralized and continued to be made by professionals. This lack of political decentralization proved to be the most important variable constraining the participation of community organizations in school policy. Community organizations were forced to interact with the central level where key decisions were made, an especially difficult process for neighborhood-based organizations. Networking at the central level involves a greater amount of time and energy than contacts with district personnel. Furthermore, at the central level, decisionmaking is the most routine, involving the highest level of professional interests.

Table 7-1. Organization contact with education administrators in Atlanta, Boston and Los Angeles, 1977-78 school year.

Organization	Number of contacts				
	Local	District	City (central)	County	State
Atlanta:					
Braves (CW-L)*	0	0	0	0	0
Peachtrees (N-MU)	0	1	4	0	0
Falcons (N-L)	0	0	0	0	0
Omnis (CW-MU)	0	0	1	0	0
Grits (N-L)	0	1	1	0	0
Magnolias (N-L)	0	0	0	0	0
Boston:					
Patriots (CW-L)	0	0	5	0	1
Yankees (CW-MU)	1	0	2	0	2
Commons (N-L)	1	0	0	0	0
Celtics (N-L)	2	0	1	0	1
Fenways (N-L)++	0	0	0	0	0
Los Angeles:					
Dodgers (N-L)	2	1	3	0	0
Margaritas (CW-L)++	0	0	0	0	0
Sunsets (N-L)	0	2	0	0	1
Lakers (N-L)	0	1	0	0	0
Venturas (CW-MU)	0	0	4	0	1
Totals:	6	6	21	0	6

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* Codes

N - Neighborhood-based
CW - Citywide organization
L - Low-income membership
MU - Middle-to-upper-income membership (see Appendix C: Community Organization Profiles for more detailed explanation)
++ - Data not available for these organizations

Source: Appendix G: Networking Data

AVAILABILITY OF DECISIONMAKERS

An organization's access to key decisionmakers at the level which will allow it to exercise influence in the decisionmaking process is an important factor in that organization's effectiveness. The greater the range and scope of such contacts, the more likely that organization is to have an impact on the decisionmaking process.

To a large extent, certain data instruments of this study (e.g., membership questionnaires, leadership and decisionmaker interviews) were designed to reveal the degree and nature of contacts between community groups and decisionmakers. Our analysis of this variable concentrates on the results of that research. We have also analyzed the formal means of access to board meetings. In this analysis, we are concerned with what people involved in school issues--decisionmakers and organizations--say about access. Differences between the access of mandated organizations and that of other community organizations, and differences in formal and informal contact. are reflected.

Organizations: Membership Questionnaires and Leadership Interviews

When organizational members were asked "Does your organization have any contact with school decisionmakers?" all the organizations in our study replied affirmatively. (See Appendix E: Questionnaire Data; membership questionnaires, item 20.) This result was anticipated since the organizations were chosen by a form of reputational analysis because of their activity on school issues.

Organizational leaders proved to have more contact with decisionmakers than did members. The question "Do you personally have contact with decisionmakers?" in the leadership interview and membership questionnaires provided the following aggregate results:

Table 7-2. Organization contacts with decisionmakers, by percent.

	Percent answering:		No response:
	Yes	No	
Leadership (n = 57)	86	14	-
Membership (n = 89)	63	34	2

Among the leadership, differences between the three cities were evident, with fewer organizational leaders in Boston answering "yes" to this question:

Table 7-3. Leaders' contact with decisionmakers, by city.

City	Number answering:	
	Yes	No
Atlanta	21	1
Boston	14	7
Los Angeles	14	0

The memberships of those organizations which focus solely on school issues gave a much higher number of "yes" responses:

Table 7-4. Members' contact with decisionmakers, by scope of issues.

Issue orientation		Percent answering: Yes	No	No response
School-issue only	(n = 38)	82	16	2
Multi-issue	(n = 51)	50	48	2

A breakdown of the responses based upon mandated vs. nonmandated organizations also shows a difference: members in mandated organizations had more contact than did members in nonmandated organizations:

Table 7-5. Members' contact with decisionmakers, by mandated and nonmandated organizations.

Organizational type		Yes	No	No response
Mandated	(n = 35)	77%	23%	-
Nonmandated	(n = 54)	55%	42%	3%

One would assume that an organization's contact with decisionmakers was an important factor in the effectiveness of the organization. Leaders were asked about this point. Boston had the largest number of respondents who said that contact with decisionmakers was not important to the organization. The results of item 6 of the leadership interviews were:

Table 7-6. Leaders' assessment of importance of contacts with decisionmakers.

City	Number answering:		
	Contacts are important	Contacts are not important	No response
Atlanta	18	2	2
Boston	14	7	-
Los Angeles	8	-	6

Leadership interviews suggest that contact with decisionmakers and organizations posed more of a problem in Boston than in Atlanta and Los Angeles.

Organization members were asked in what form contact took place. The answers showed little variation: face-to-face contact, phone calls or letters (see Appendix E: Questionnaire Data; membership questionnaires, item 20a) were common forms. Most organizations said they used all three forms of contact and generally did not feel that one form was more common than the others. When members were asked "Who initiates the contacts?", their answers showed that it was much more common for organizations to initiate contact (see question 20b). All of the middle-to-upper income organizations in the study stated that both decisionmakers and organizations initiated contacts. Two of the four lower-income organizations which said both sides initiated contacts were mandated groups.

The leadership interviews and membership questionnaires in general show that a good deal of contact occurred between organizations and decisionmakers. The main problem with the questions we asked was that the term "decisionmaker" was open to a range of interpretations. In responding, many organization members could have been referring to teachers or principals whom they perceived of as being decisionmakers.

The decisionmaker interviews were all with persons determined by reputational analysis to be key decisionmakers. In each city, our site staff determined who these decisionmakers were: many were in fact outside the school system. (The methods used by each site staff to determine decisionmakers are described in Appendix F: Interview Data.) The extent to which community organizations were aware of these persons and contacted them is an important factor in the effectiveness of their organizations. These rounds of interviews were conducted with these decisionmakers.

Decisionmaker Interviews

In question 2, decisionmakers were asked to identify organizations/groups involved in current school issues. In Atlanta and Boston, all of the organizations in the study were mentioned; in Los Angeles, two were not--the Sunsets and the Lakers. The Sunsets, however, were very tightly networked with the Margaritas.

Question 5 asked decisionmakers if any of the organizations that they had mentioned in answering question 2 had been in contact with them. The results (first round) were:

Table 7-7. Decisionmakers' contacts with community organizations.

City	Number answering:	
	Yes	No
Atlanta	8	4
Boston	11	1
Los Angeles	20	-

Decisionmakers were also asked to identify the organizations that had been in contact with them. The largest number identified was in Los Angeles, the smallest in Atlanta. The types of organizations mentioned by these decisionmakers proved noteworthy. The groups mentioned most frequently were:

Table 7-8. Groups contacting decisionmakers most often.

Atlanta	Boston	Los Angeles
PTA's	Freedom House	PTA's
Employees (AFT; AAE)	CWEC	Advisory Councils
	Other community groups	Ethnic Commissions

Boston was the only city in which decisionmakers showed contact with community organizations, both those named were middle-income groups. In Los Angeles, all contacts were mandated organizations; these groups have formal access built into their mandate and were part of the system. In Atlanta, decisionmakers had contact with employee groups and with PTA's. The contact that decisionmakers had with grassroots community organizations did not appear to be extensive. This was in sharp contrast to the perceptions of the leaders and members of community organizations.

In question 6, decisionmakers were asked if they sought contact with community groups. The degree to which decisionmakers did so tells us something about the system; whom they sought out was even more significant.

Table 7-9. Contacts with organizations initiated by decisionmakers.

City	Number answering:	
	Yes	No
Atlanta	8	4
Boston	8	4
Los Angeles	14	6

In each city, decisionmakers actively sought out contacts, but with largely traditional, citywide organizations or mandated groups.

Table 7-10. Organizations/groups that decisionmakers contacted.

Atlanta	Boston	Los Angeles
Community groups	Mandated parent advisory councils (local, district)	UTLA
PTA	CWEC	PTA
Employee groups	HSA	Advisory Councils

Decisionmakers generally did not seek out contact with self-initiated community organizations. In Boston, it was noteworthy that decisionmakers did not mention that the court-mandated Parent Advisory Councils (PAC's) contacted them, but rather they sought out contacts with the PAC's. The PTA (HSA, the

Home and School Association, is the Boston equivalent) again appeared to be in contact with decisionmakers.

The responses to question 7 revealed that community organizations preferred to deal individually with decisionmakers rather than working in coalitions. This was least true in Los Angeles where several of the decisionmakers also mentioned that contact by an organization or coalition depended upon the issue. The results are shown in table 7-11:

Table 7-11. Organizations' contacts with decisionmakers.

City	Work individually	Work with other groups	Depends on issues
Atlanta	9	3	-
Boston	10	2	-
Los Angeles	9	5	3

During a leadership interview in Los Angeles, an individual in the Venturas, one of the most effective organizations in that city in school politics, stated, "Broad coalitions have the advantage of greater resources, the ability to impress by their numbers. They also have a tendency to be more selective and balanced in their choice of issues, i.e., they are less likely to take action on minor issues." This comment contrasts with the realities of the preferred individual contact (see Chapter V: Networking and Organizational Effectiveness).

Informal access to decisionmakers was a source of power for some organizations, particularly for their leaders. This was especially true in Atlanta, as confirmed by journals from the site staff which stated that problems were often taken care of by phone. A leader of one of the lower-income organizations in Atlanta stated in an interview that the people in her community disliked formal organizational and bureaucratic approaches, did not like to attend meetings, but "liked a kind of informal and personal style of talking about our problems." Question 8 of the decisionmaker interviews asked, "Do you have contact with organizational leaders outside of your job?" The highest percentage of "yes" responses came from Atlanta, followed by Los Angeles and then Boston. The results were:

Table 7-12. Decisionmakers' outside contacts with organizational leaders.

City	Number answering: Yes	No
Atlanta	10	2
Boston	7	5
Los Angeles	15	4

The questions dealt with so far have revealed that certain differences existed between decisionmakers' contacts with mandated groups and those with other community organizations. Of our three cities, Los Angeles, with its ethnic commissions and different levels of parent advisory groups, had the greatest number of mandated groups. Due to the Federal District Court order, a large number of mandated PAC's existed at all levels in Boston. In Atlanta there were few mandated school-issue-only organizations. Decisionmakers in both Boston and Los Angeles indicated that their contacts with mandated organizations were more numerous than their contacts with self-initiated community organizations. Question 13 asked decisionmakers if there were differences in the nature of contacts between mandated and community groups. The results were significant:

Table 7-13. Decisionmakers' responses to question on differences in contacts with mandated and nonmandated organizations.

City	Responses:	
	Yes	No
Atlanta	5	7
Boston	6	5
Los Angeles	6	11

Boston was the only city in which the majority of respondents said "yes." Those who said "yes" gave various explanations, such as: "Mandated groups are better organized," "mandated groups are more self-confident," and "community groups have learned ways of getting things indirectly." In Atlanta, decisionmakers noted that their offices had assigned staff to deal especially with mandated groups and "it is sometimes difficult to make contact with civic groups." In Los Angeles (in keeping with responses to other questions) several decisionmakers said that contacts with mandated groups were regular and more frequent than contacts with community groups.

In Los Angeles, decisionmakers were in contact with a greater number of organizations than were decisionmakers in Boston and Atlanta. In Atlanta, informal contact was more prevalent than formal means of access, particularly for middle-income groups. Boston decisionmakers showed less contact with community organizations than did Atlanta or Los Angeles decisionmakers.

The inclusion of mandated organizations in the study proved to be of significance and demonstrated the impact of the changing character of community organizations. Federal, State and school district policies have encouraged the creation of mandated parent organizations which functioned as advisory committees to the school system. The major emphasis was on involving lower-income parents. These organizations were maintained by the agencies which created them; in addition, their functions were prescribed (and certain functions proscribed) by those agencies. Mandated organizations were not a citizenship training ground for a broad cross-section of lower-income community people nor were they a means for developing policies responsive to community needs by engaging community people in the policy process. The networking data (see Chapter VI: Organizations and Policy Goals) show that mandated organizations' networks were exclusively limited to the institutions which mandated them and to other mandated groups. Their vertical networking within the system was confined to people in official positions who were their designated contacts under the provisions of their mandates. Often these contacts were initiated by those officials. Decisionmakers came to depend upon their own mandated groups as the representatives of lower-income organizations. The actions of mandated groups were established and constrained by the school system, which also determined the system of representation. The leaders and members of these organizations, as compared to advocacy and service organizations, were the least policy-oriented, yet they were often the sole channel of contact between school officials and groups of lower-income parents.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL

In our early research we assumed that the greater the compatibility of the bureaucratic leadership and the individuals that they serve, the greater the responsiveness and sensitivity to community demands for involvement in decisionmaking. Our treatment of this variable distinguishes between compatibility of socioeconomic status and racial compatibility. What we found was that class was more of a conditioning factor determining interaction between community organizations and the school system than was racial compatibility.

Socioeconomic Status

The analysis of organizations in our study clearly shows that middle-to-upper-income organizations were the most successful in influencing school system policy. There were four of these organizations in the study; two in Atlanta and one each in Boston and Los Angeles. Decisionmakers interviewed over the course of the study identified these organizations consistently when asked which community organizations had impact on the school system. In Los Angeles, in a leadership interview with the Venturas, when asked "Where would you place yourself or your organization on the list of influentials?" the respondent replied, "We feel we are above minority grassroots organizations because this district still is run by white middle-class values and they still cater to white middle-class grassroots organizations." In Atlanta, a respondent stated that the superintendent has a "fundamentally middle-class orientation which appeals both to black and white middle-class.

The superintendent opposed the school breakfast program because, as he put it, "it disrupts an important part of family life."

Networking data confirmed the importance of class in organization roles. There were differences in the number of contacts between lower-income and middle-to-upper-income organizations with the school system administration (see table 7-14). The number of contacts was greater for middle/upper income organizations. The fact that many of the key decisionmakers came from neighborhoods represented by middle-to-upper-income organizations accounted in part for this greater contact. In Atlanta, many top staff members of the school system come from the Northside, where the Peachtrees were located. This potential for contact, especially informal contact, did not exist for lower-income organizations.

Racial Compatibility

The Board. School boards are the major formal unit of governance in school politics. This section of our report analyzes the boards and their representativeness as a variable in the way community organizations relate to the school systems. Elected school board members are supposed to serve as conduits of information to citizens as well as elected representatives who bring the concerns of parents to the school system.

Atlanta, as compared to the other two cities, boasted the most racially representative board (with regard to the population), with 13 of 27 posts held by blacks for most of the last 10 years (see Appendix B: School System Profiles). In 1977, five out of the nine members were black, the superintendent was also black. The fact that six of the nine posts on the board were filled through district elections was significant. Of the three at-large posts on the Atlanta School Board, only one had been consistently held by a black during the past ten years, and that case must be considered a special circumstance.

The Boston School Committee was less representative of the clientele it served than the Atlanta or Los Angeles boards. In 1977, there was only one black member. The school profiles showed that the School Committee had 21 white males, 3 white females, and 1 black male in the last five terms. Of the three cities, Boston was the only one that still elected its School Committee at large. This fact supported the view that board members elected through the district process were generally more representative racially of their constituency than representatives elected at large.

Until 1978, Los Angeles held at-large elections to fill the seven positions of its School Board. During the past ten years at least one, more recently two, of the seven positions have been held by minority representatives. The shift from at-large to district elections in the next election is expected to change the board's racial composition. In our third round of interviews, organization leaders were asked what the ramifications of district elections would be. Of the 11 leaders interviewed, seven responded that district elections would result in increased accountability of board members and greater responsiveness to district needs. A few leaders felt that district elections would result in more provincial interests being expressed and in competition between area superintendents and board members.

Staff. We have developed an index of representativeness of school staff to pupils in each of the three cities. The index is arrived at by dividing the percentage of staff in a certain ethnic group by the percentage of students of the same ethnicity. An index of 1 shows equal representation; less than 1 underrepresentation; more than 1 overrepresentation. In developing this index, we believed that a more representative staff would be an indication of a more open system.

Table 7-14. Representativeness of staff to pupils, in the site cities.

	Ethnic origin of:		
Los Angeles, 1976	**Pupils**	**Certified staff**	**Index**
American Indians	0.9%	1.0%	1.1
Black	24.1%	15.9%	.66
Asian	5.9%	6.6%	1.1
Hispanic	32.1%	5.8%	.18
White	37.0%	70.7%	1.9
Atlanta, 1977	**Pupils**	**Teaching staff**	**Index**
Black	88.9%	78.0%	.9
White	10.6%	22.0%	2.1
Hispanic	0.5%	0	0
Boston, 1975	**Pupils**	**Central administrative staff**	**Index**
American Indians	0.4%	0 %	0
Black	39.4%	5.7%	.14
Asian	2.8%	.4%	.14
Hispanic	8.7%	.2%	.02
White	48.7%	93.7%	1.9

This index shows that staff is more racially representative in Atlanta than in Boston and Los Angeles. In Boston, staff was the least representative of the student body it served. Hispanics were the most underrepresented and whites the most overrepresented group in all three cities.

Our initial assumption, that a more representative staff would indicate a more open system, did not prove true. Atlanta especially brought this fact to light. Despite a majority of black members on the School Board, a black superintendent and a high percentage of black staff, the system on all other counts was the most closed. It is significant that the most influential community organization in school politics in the city was a white middle-class one.

Several of the persons interviewed talked about the effect the large number of black administrators was having on Atlanta's schools. The president of the Atlanta Council for Public Education stated that "School administrators, almost regardless of their background and certainly regardless of whether they are white or black, tend to be autocratic and bull-headed about their professional prerogatives and resistant to sharing power with the community." The president also went on to say that "Black administrators are not necessarily more oriented to the community [than white administrators]."

Two persons we interviewed pointed out that parents and the community did not want to "criticize or attack black administrators." If this was true, it explained in part why there was limited citizen opposition to school policies. Our questionnaire results showed that organization members in Atlanta were less critical of the system than those in Boston and Los Angeles.

Our conclusion from this analysis is that whether school boards and/or bureaucrats are racially representative does not change their willingness to share power and engage nonprofessionals in the policy process. This conclusion confirms Pitkin's thesis that membership does not equal representativeness (Pitkin, 1967). Pitkin argues that it is necessary to assess policy outputs when determining representativeness. In looking at the Atlanta public school system, it becomes evident that students did not benefit equally and that the allocation of resources favored middle-class interests, black and white. In all three systems, the most marginal students, the lower classes, were the most deprived. The lower class organizations were viewed as the least effective.

INFORMATION FLOW

An important element in promoting citizen and organizational participation is the availability and sharing of information. Based on the assumption that participation requires information, the greater the information flow of usable data to the public, the more likely it is for community organizations to participate in school politics and relate to policy issues. Especially important to community organizations is information that members can understand. Nonprofessionals can seldom use highly technical information.

In our first round of decisionmaker interviews, problems with communication and information flows were brought to light in two of the three site cities. In Boston, the previous superintendent, in a June 1978 interview, identified communication as one of the major issues facing the school system: "Communication isn't good in the schools or between the department and parent groups...the whole area of information needs some more special attention." In Atlanta, four out of the ten decisionmakers interviewed in the first round stated that the lack of communication between the school system and the public it served was one of the major issues that needed to be dealt with.

Our analysis of information flows concentrated on three of the research instruments: decisionmaker interviews, leadership interviews and media reports. Focusing merely on the school systems' formal mechanisms of information flow was not sufficient. For instance, the Atlanta school system had a Community Relations Department which in theory was supposed to handle the supply of information to the public. Its major vehicle was a newspaper called Connection, sent home with each child ten or twelve times a year. One hundred thousand copies of each edition were printed. Copies were sent to community leaders and to the heads of community groups. The school system also employed a full-time information specialist who was responsible for news releases, press conferences and all contacts with the news media. However, since the operating style of the Atlanta school system was largely an informal one, the publication of Connection was not as significant as the kind of information exchanged by phone or in face-to-face conversations with decisionmakers. In an interview, one school board member stated that "Atlanta is an informal city. I'm sure most of the information that passes around the city about the school system is done over the phone." In Los Angeles, due to its consultative operating style, the information flow was excessive and was said at times to obscure the effectiveness of community organizations. In Boston, with its comparatively closed operating style, the court's role in providing data never before released was filling the information flow void created by the School Committee and the bureaucracy.

In this section we will discuss the sources of information identified by decisionmakers and organizational leaderships. The differences in responses are relevant. In addition, the extent to which the media covers key issues and the importance of press interpretation are essential to our discussion of the information flow.

Sources of Information

Question 4 of the decisionmaker interview asked "How do community groups receive information on issues?"

Responses have been separated by those sources of information which are a part of the system, internal, e.g., the board, the bureaucracy, the PTA, as well as those sources produced by groups external to the system.

Table 7-15. Decisionmakers' sources of information.

Atlanta		Boston		Los Angeles	
Internal		Internal		Internal	
Newsletters	5	Newsletters	3	School District Offices	12
Superintendent's TV Program	4	Home & School Association	1	Area Offices	10
Board Meetings	4	Bureaucracy	1	PTA	4
Bureaucracy	3	District Superintendent	2	Board	3
PTA	2	School Committee	1	Newsletters	3
Employees	2	Court Filings	1	Superintendent	2
		CDAC Meetings	1	Principals	2
		Department of Implementation	1	Community Advisory Councils	2
		State	1	Public Information Office	2
External		External		External	
Media	4	Media	3	Media	5
Other Groups	3	CWEC	1	NAACP	1
		Freedom House	1	Urban League	1
		METCO	1	League of Women Voters	1
				BUSTOP	1
				ACLU	1

The number of different sources is greatest in Los Angeles. The main service of information in that city was the school district. The next major source was the media. Decisionmakers also stated that the PTA played an important role in the flow of information. Other sources of information which were part of the LAUSD included the superintendent's office, the board, principals, teachers, the Public Information Office, and advisory councils. Many groups outside of the school system were mentioned as well, including the ACLU, NAACP, The Urban League, The League of Women Voters, and BUSTOP. About two-thirds of the answers given can be said to identify components of the LAUSD, with the remaining sources of information being the media and organizations concerned with school issues.

In Atlanta, newsletters put out by the school system (decisionmakers were most likely referring to Connection) received the highest number of responses. The superintendent's television program, board meetings and the media followed newsletters, all with the same number of responses. Other sources mentioned in Atlanta, although to a lesser degree, included employees, principals, teachers and area superintendents. Of the three cities, Atlanta had the least number of sources cited; and the great majority of those sources cited were provided by the system.

The responses to question 4 in Boston were especially noteworthy. Only three sources of information were mentioned more than once by the 10 decisionmakers interviewed. These responses suggested that the former superintendent touched on a basic problem. In an interview with the new superintendent, he stated that the new Public Affairs Office created under the reorganization, will be the link to the school system for citizen-initiated groups. Of the present sources, the media and newsletters were mentioned the most often. Other sources mentioned included district superintendents, the Home and School Association (HSA), Citywide Educational Coalition (CWEC), the School Committee, the court, the State, Citywide District Advisory Committees (CDAC's) and the Department of Implementation. As was the case in Los Angeles and Atlanta, the majority of sources were internal to the school system.

When organizational leaders in the three cities were asked the question "How does your organization receive information on the issues?" the responses did not match those given by decisionmakers. Whereas decisionmakers said that the system was largely responsible for the flow of information, organization leaders relied heavily upon networking within the organization and with other organizations to receive information on issues. The results of the question can be found in table 7-16. It can clearly be seen that the majority of responses suggested the importance of sources external to the system. In trying to determine the information flow it is perhaps more valid to rely upon the organizational leaders. We expected that decisionmakers in the school system would identify such sources as the board, the superintendent, and the bureaucracy. Organization leaders did not agree and relied more upon their members, other organizations, and personal contacts for information. Personal communication networks provided for the dissemination of information and the development of strategies. These sources can be said to be informal ones. Atlanta organizations, especially, relied upon these informal sources of information.

Table 7-16. Leadership sources of information.

Atlanta		Boston		Los Angeles	
Internal		Internal		Internal	
School Bureaucracy	6	School Bureaucracy	4	District Offices	5
Publications	4	School Committee Meetings	4	School Bureaucracy	2
Teachers	1	Documents	1	Public Information Office	1
				Principal	1
				Board Meetings	1
External		External		External	
Organization Members	14	Other Organizations	8	Other Organizations	6
Other Organizations	7	Personal Contacts	6	Media	4
Public Officials	4	Media	5	Legislature	3
Personal Contact	4	Organization Members	4	Organization Members	3
Community	3	Word of Mouth	2	Community	2
Word of Mouth	2				

The interviews showed that problems of information flow were more common in Boston and Atlanta than in Los Angeles. The Boston site staff in its journal reports points out that the problems of information flow were being remedied somewhat by the activities of the Federal District Court and by a community organization--the Citywide Education Coalition (CWEC). For many years the Home and School Association (HSA), formulated under the School Committee's direction and monitored by them, was the only official parent organization, the only organized channel through which parents could communicate formally with teachers, administrators, other parents, and the School Committee. The HSA was criticized as being controlled by the school system and unrepresentative of minority groups. The Federal District Court increased the amount of information available on Boston's schools as part of its plan. The court staff made available reports on various aspects of the school system.* The creation of the three-tiered Parent Advisory Councils made many more parents, a large number of them minority parents, aware of the activities in the Boston schools. The Citywide Coordinating Council (now defunct) was charged to make available to the public a significant amount of literature that had been generated about desegregation. This information is now housed permanently in the Boston Public Library. The Department of Implementation was also created by court order and through its External Liaison Unit provides a good deal of information to the public. This office produced a booklet--1978-79 Student Assignment Information--available to parents in seven different languages--English, Spanish, French, Greek, Italian, Chinese and Portuguese.

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*For example, The Boston School Decision, Community Action Committee of Paperback Booksmith, 1974. The cover reads "You can only fully understand the depths of Boston's shame by reading this document."

CWEC (formerly Political Action for Better Schools) also produces a large amount of very usable, understandable information on Boston schools. Many of the data we collected were produced by CWEC. It issued a bimonthly newsletter entitled, Common Ground (subtitled, "Citizens Working Together for Better Schools") which included many data on Boston Schools, together with articles about education in general. In October 1973, CWEC opened a Resource Center to disseminate information on relevant educational issues to the citizens of Boston.

Media Reports

The media were consistently mentioned by decisionmakers and organizational leaders as one of the main sources of information on school issues. Over the course of the study each site research staff monitored the media and sent monthly reports to the central office. In our discussions the media generally mean the press but also include radio and TV. The reports show that media coverage was the greatest in Los Angeles, adequate in Boston, but poor in Atlanta. These conclusions go hand in hand with a ranking of the cities in the overall category of information flow.

Reporting on education was comprehensive and analytic in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Times supplied the majority of news stories on the school system, and a very wide range of issues was covered. The three major school issues chosen by the Los Angeles site staff as being important all received coverage.* They were Proposition 13, desegregation, and collective bargaining. The development of Proposition 13 was covered extensively, with many warnings of its ramifications for the LAUSD, if passed. The Times had articles which reported the LAUSD's position on Proposition 13; it also devoted a good deal of attention to the desegregation issue, especially after some initial reports were issued by the court-appointed monitors. The concept of metropolitanization of the school system was also addressed. A special series was devoted to Los Angeles' ethnic groups, including Jews, Chicanos, blacks, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. The third issue, collective bargaining (the Rodda Act), received less extensive attention but did not go unnoticed. The press also covered corporal punishment, bilingual education, reading, violence, Push For Excellence, enrollment, etc. Any person who consistently read the Times would have had a good idea of the issues the LAUSD faced. Recently, the paper has dealt with the political ramifications of Proposition M (a move from at-large to district elections) and has analyzed it in terms of a battle between busing and antibusing interests. A Times editorial promoted passage of Proposition M in the belief that the district elections it called for would result in greater accountability by board members. The Times appeared to be quite willing to take stands on issues and did not always just report the facts. Columnist Jack McCurdy was analytical in his approach and, in fact, has been criticized by school district leaders for his "criticism" of the system. When organization leaders in Los Angeles were questioned about their feelings about media coverage, the majority claimed that the press was irresponsible and onesided, giving a negative view of the school system and too little coverage of the role of citizen organizations.

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*Each site staff was asked to name the three most important school policy issues over the last year.

Boston media reports showed that coverage was not as extensive as in Los Angeles. The Boston research staff media reports have been keen to point out issues that the media did not report. This was especially true of the issues which were discussed at School Committee meetings. Our researchers who attended the committee meetings noted that they were surprised on occasions when they could read the next day about what had passed in the meeting.

Among the issues which received the most coverage in Boston were the Unified Facilities Plan (school closings), transportation, student competency, and the selection of a new superintendent. The activities of the Federal District Court, heavily involved in the governance of the Boston public schools, has received some attention. With regard to the three issues selected by the site staff (desegregation, safety and selection of the superintendent), desegregation no longer receives broad coverage. The issue appears to have cooled a bit--or the press has decided to cool it. The second issue, school safety, was related to transportation, which received some minor coverage. On the selection of a new superintendent, the press took a stand and acknowledged that the School Committee allowed a community screening committee to have some input into the selection. It did not present this decision in the context of the broader needs of the school system.

In Atlanta, reporting on education was limited. Since Atlanta is the capital of Georgia, there was a good deal of newspaper coverage of the State Board of Education and in particular of the activities of the State Superintendent, Charles McDaniel. Generally, the press leaned to being supportive of the Atlanta school system. This was in part explained by the fact that many people in Atlanta were impressed that the school system was able to maintain financial stability.

Within Atlanta, the activities of the employee unions was one of the dominant issues in educational reporting. Employee unions also dominated much of what goes on during School Board meetings. Another area receiving coverage was special programs, giving the impression of a progressive school system with alternative means of education.

Within the issue of desegregation in Atlanta, the Metro case was being followed to a limited extent. An Atlanta Constitution editorial called for the removal of the Metro case from the courts. The two other issues of importance selected by the site, declining enrollment and educational outcomes, have both received limited press coverage. Educational outcomes received more attention, largely because the issue covered a wide range of concerns--reading scores, competency testing, etc.

Our analysis of information flows, both internal and external, suggested that among citizens of the three cities, those of Los Angeles were the best informed on school matters. The number of stories and the degree of scrutiny by the press was the most extensive. In Boston, the information flow was in large part sustained by groups outside the school system; it was greatly enhanced by the Federal District Court. In an interview, the director of the Department of Implementation concurred that, "only because of the court order has it been easier for parent groups to gain access to information." In Atlanta, the flow of information was most limited, potentially constraining public participation in school issues. The head of the Atlanta Council for Public Education said in an interview that the greatest need that her organization and its members had was for information and an informational system.

Differences in perceptions existed between decisionmakers and organization leaders with regard to sources of information. Decisionmakers felt that the system was responsible for the flow of information to the public. Organization leaders, however, relied more upon networks with other organizations or upon their own members for information. This would suggest that community organizations did not feel that the quality and form of information produced by the system was adequate for their needs.

OPERATING STYLE

All of the data collected on the politics of the school systems, particularly our field observations, suggested that there were distinct school system operating styles which explained how a local educational agency (LEA), particularly the leadership, actually conducted its business vis-à-vis the public. "Operating style" refers primarily to the interaction of the governing school board, the superintendent and the professional staff, and contributes to the relative openness of a school system.

Key decisions affecting the entire system are made at the central level. An analysis of organizational networking patterns indicated that contacts with the LEA are concentrated at the central leadership level (see table 7-1). In our interviews with city and school decisionmakers, as well as those with organization leaders, respondents consistently identified the board, the superintendent and the central bureaucracy as the most influential in the school decisionmaking process. A summary of data collected defining the interaction of the school system leadership and its citizen clientele led us to distinguish the operating styles of Atlanta as paternalistic, Boston as authoritarian, and Los Angeles as consultative.

There is a reverse effect possible in openness--which held true in our analysis. Several questions in the membership questionnaires asked members about their feelings toward the board, the superintendent and the system in general. The responses show that the more open in style a system was, the less confidence community organizations had in it. This conclusion fits with other studies which suggest that the more knowledgeable citizens become, the less confidence they have in the system (Nelkin, 1977).

Atlanta

The Atlanta School Board met three times a month. The structure and purpose of each of these meetings were different. On the first Monday of each month the board held its community meeting. On the second Monday, the board held a briefing session in the afternoon and a legislative meeting later that evening. According to State law, meetings of the board must be open; our observations indicated there was regular public attendance at each of these meetings.

Community Meetings. Community meetings were designed to permit individuals or representatives to make presentations and discuss issues before the board. These meetings were loosely structured and had no formal agenda. Presentations to the board were officially limited to five minutes. Citizens who wished to address the board signed up as they entered the meeting room and were called to speak on a first come, first served basis.

During the 1977-78 school year, our Atlanta staff observed and documented six community meetings. The nonuse of these meetings by community organizations was dramatic.

Table 7-17. Public presentations at Atlanta "Community" board meetings 1977-1978.

Topic	Number	Percent
Union representatives (AFT, AAE, GAE, AFSCME)	14	48.3
Community organizations	4	13.8
Teachers	2	6.9
Concerned individuals	9	31.0
Totals	29	100.0

As indicated in the preceding table, presentations from employee organizations dominated community meetings, with very little input from community organizations. The attitude and demeanor of the board at these meetings was condescending towards the constantly visible union representatives who, because of their domination of the meetings, set the tone for the reception accorded other presentations. Employee organizations have no collective bargaining rights in Atlanta. An example of this tone can be discerned from the following statement made by the superintendent at a community meeting, when questioned about evaluation policy for administrators.

> ...your statements, as always were too general; administrators are doing their jobs as required....While teachers are evaluated every three years, administrators are being evaluated each year. Further evaluation would be ideal, but it would be foolhardy to change policy when it is still in its first cycle in terms of implementation...

Another example of the board's style when dealing with the public at the community meetings occurred on July 10, 1977. A representative of the East Atlanta Community Council, speaking on the need for assigning a new principal at a local elementary school in the area, proposed community input in the selection of a candidate. The superintendent responded, "No screening takes place when a transfer is made..., an experienced person was needed." When one board member uncharacteristically remarked, "...parents on the Northside of Atlanta (a predominantly white section of Atlanta) screened principals all the time..." the audience broke into applause. The superintendent angrily reminded the board that the process for selecting principals was standard procedure across the city. When the representative requested that a procedure be set up whereby she and others from the school community in question could sit down with administrators and help name the principal, the superintendent retorted, "Mrs. X, neither you nor the community will 'name' the principal." The publicly nonconfrontational element of the Atlanta School Board's operating style came into play here when another board member defused this potentially tense situation by stating that he had previously spoken to Mrs. X and would help transmit the communication of the community's preferences for a new principal to the area superintendent. The final statement of this exchange was in the form of a compromise by the superintendent: it was "...the area superintendent will contact the school and community representatives and secure their preferences on the characteristics desired in a principal."

This incident, brief as it was, was one of the more lively ones of the year. The community representative's request was a simple one and, in terms of community perceptions of its roles, not of an isolated nature as indicated. The superintendent's response clearly pointed to what he considered a trespass by the public. Obviously the board's "community meeting" was not the place to participate in the educational decisionmaking process, as evidenced by the number of school-issue-oriented community organizations that made presentations at the community meetings.

The Briefing Sessions. On the second Monday of each month the Atlanta School Board held a meeting it referred to as its briefing session. At these meetings the intent was to brief the public on different aspects of the school system's operations, through board subcommittee reports. Citizen organizations and individuals could raise issues or questions at these meetings; however, formal arrangements had to be made in advance through the board's secretary to have items placed on the agenda.

Public presentations at the briefing sessions were again dominated by employee organizations. At each meeting observed during the 1977-78 school year, representatives from AAE (Atlanta Association of Educators), and the AFT (Atlanta Federation of Teachers), made substantial presentations; other groups such as GAE (Georgia Association of Educators) and AFSCME (American Federation of State County Municipal Employees) made shorter presentations. As with the community meetings, the tone of the meetings was set by the extensive tolerance of the board toward employee organizations.

As already stated, the Atlanta School Board's briefing sessions were more formal than its community meetings, and more clearly exemplified the group's operating style. The superintendent was the dominant player at these meetings; it was he and his department that were most often discussed. The board, through its president, was very supportive and protective of the superintendent and his staff. An incident at the December 12, 1977 briefing session characterized this support and explained one conclusion that the Atlanta School Board was paternal in its operating style. A community organization concerned with educational issues, through its representative, made a formal presentation to the board. When the group was placed on the agenda, its spokesperson stated that they wished to speak about "a number of educational concerns for action." At the meeting the group attacked the school department in several "major policy areas." Audience response to the presentation was nominally supportive. The president of the board, rather than responding to the presentation or to the audience's response, ended the meeting with the following statement, "...Board Secretary, from now on I want the name of each individual to speak (and what they speak about). Not organization names, but the names of individuals. They'll all have to go through me..."

The Legislative Meeting. The Atlanta School Board makes its routine decisions at its Legislative Board Meetings. The superintendent submitted his monthly report at these meetings. It was generally approved in its entirety, with little if any comment. No public presentations were allowed at this, the shortest of the board's three monthly meetings, usually lasting less than one hour. It was here that the superintendent's dominance was most clearly evident; when, on occasion, a board member questioned the superintendent's report, he or she was quickly reminded by the board president that any objections or questions concerning the report should have been raised at the briefing session that took place several hours before.

The Superintendent. In Atlanta, the superintendent was supported by the board; public attacks on the superintendent were not tolerated at board meetings; his monthly reports to the board were usually passed with little or no challenge by members. The Atlanta School Board's high regard for professionalism was exemplified in this relationship. The current superintendent was recruited after an intensive search for a "qualified" professional with whom board members felt they could work.

Observations of board procedures have shown that the superintendent has been given a great deal of authority over the school system. Not only did he maintain complete control of the day-to-day operations of the system, but he established the agenda for board meetings. He and his staff, which also acted as staff for the board, made all key presentations and were responsible for responding to questions from parents and community groups. A quotation from an Atlanta newspaper, discussing the relationship of the board and its superintendent, perhaps best describes the situation:

> In some cities--Boston is notorious in this respect--school board members are vociferous advocates for specific policies ...,board members in Atlanta have traditionally kept a low profile and left the superintendent free to run the system as he wants. (Atlanta Gazette, August, 1977)

The highly visible role of the superintendent in Atlanta, coupled with the nonconfrontative agreement among board members at meetings, has projected an image of the superintendent as a strong, capable leader. When the membership of the community organizations in Atlanta were asked if they felt that the superintendent provided strong leadership, 56 percent of the respondents said "yes" as opposed to 36 percent positive responses recorded when the same question was asked about the board.

Boston: Operating Style

The Boston School Committee met regularly each week. During the 1977-78 school year, the committee sometimes met as often as four times a week. This was primarily due to a change in the scope of work handled by the committee to include a broader involvement in policies related to desegregation, student assignments, and affirmative action in staff hiring. The impetus for this shift in focus was the influence of the Federal District Court. The court virtually ran the Boston school system in the aftermath of its 1974 decisions that the Boston School Committee was guilty of de jure segregation.

Meetings were usually held at 2 P.M. in the afternoon. However, recent changes by the school committee have led to what are called "community meetings." Two community meetings were held each month, in the evening. One of these was a floating meeting, held at a different school each time. Unlike the Atlanta community meetings where the major concern was hearing from the public, in Boston the committee held a regular meeting following the same pattern as meetings held at school department headquarters. All Boston School Committee meetings were divided into two parts, the regular meeting either at the committee's headquarters or in the community, and what the committee referred to as "executive session." Executive sessions were closed to public scrutiny and therefore were not observed; however, when the committee stated its reasons for going into executive session, budget and personnel invariably headed the list.

In looking at the operating style of the Boston School Committee, a number of factors must be taken into consideration. A quote from the Boston Globe, July 10, 1978, perhaps best describes the situation:

> ...a highly politicized system that is reactive rather than innovative, that is riddled with waste and patronage, and is emerging from the problems of desegregation to find itself with a largely black and minority enrollment of 72,000 and a budget of $175 million.

Clashes between the school committee and last superintendent (replaced by the committee in 1978) are well documented in our observation notes and revealed an approach in style altogether different from that of the Atlanta School Board. The recent change in superintendents, as well as the omnipresent influence of the Federal courts, suggests a possible transition in style. It is too early to determine what the emerging operating style will be. However, some generalizations on the past, supported by our research, have led us to feel that the committee's predominant style before the recent changes (the basic elements of which still permeate interactions between top administrative leadership and the public) was authoritarian.

The case against the Boston School Committee that led to its de jure segregation conviction is detailed in Chapter IX of this report. The School Committee's support of a segregated school system, the committee's power over appointments and the interaction between the committee and its former superintendent, provided the basis for our assertion that the committee's predominant operating style was authoritarian.

As could be predicted, the major concern at all the committee meetings during the 1977-78 school year was desegregation-related issues. In the past, observers of the committee noted that members were much more involved with the day-to-day operation of the school system. As noted earlier, the Federal court has forced the committee to shift its focus. In addition, court orders related to minority hiring have effectively stripped the committee of its notorious history of patronage in hiring for the school department. In preliminary interviews for this study, the following statements were made by a number of influentials in the Boston education arena: "...One of the reasons the School Committee is not doing its job properly is due to its patronage nature...they put their political concerns above their educational concern" (Chairperson, Community Task Force on Education) "...I know of a good deal of patronage in maintenance and repairs..." (former Superintendent of Schools). "There is a network of patronage...HSA is part of that patronage system...the court has undermined patronage arrangements" (court-appointed Master during desegregation monitoring).

The Superintendent and Operating Style. In a few instances citizens attended committee meetings during the 1977-78 school year. These--as were all meetings--were characterized by angry outbursts from the committee chairperson, directed at school department staff, especially the former superintendent of schools. The only woman among the three superintendents, she held her position through an extremely difficult period, when the Boston school system had to make politically controversial adjustments based on numerous court orders. In many cases it was the superintendent's legal responsibility to make changes that went against the committee's wishes.

The following are but a few of many examples over a three-year period of the superintendent being called to task, as it were, by the president of the committee. In March 1978, at a regular meeting, the president asked the superintendent about her decision to make up schooldays missed due to a snow storm. She replied that she was still making that decision, primarily waiting to hear from the Boston Teachers' Union (BTU). At this, the president angrily responded, "Do you realize that it is almost April? A decision should have been made by now!" He went on to say that "the reason the Teachers' Union is waiting is because you have not given them your opinion on a solution." A similar clash between the president and superintendent occurred during a discussion on hiring a director for a school system program. The president asked why the position was not filled. The superintendent replied that the person chosen had become ill and could not accept the job. At this, the president became enraged, stating that this was not the reason at all; and perhaps the fault lay with choosing a person not interested in the job in the first place! This exchange went on for some time before being resolved; it highlighted the tension between the committee and its president. Incidents of this nature occurred not only between the president of the committee and the superintendent, they also flaired up between other committee members and between the superintendent and her staff. In meetings in May and June, 1978, the director of transportation was repeatedly and angrily admonished over problems with the bus companies used to transport students.

It is interesting to note that when Boston organization members were surveyed, 43 percent felt the superintendent was a strong leader, while another 43 percent felt that she was not. When this same group was asked if the school committee provided strong leadership, 44 percent of them responded negatively and only 35 percent positively.

Los Angeles

The LAUSD held regular board meetings and Committee of the Whole (COW) meetings each Monday. COW meetings, designed to process recommendations, proposals, resolutions, etc., from the eight standing committees (Building, Business Operations, Careers and Continuing Education, Community Affairs, Educational Development, Personnel, Schools' Student Life, and the Committee of the Whole) started at 3 P.M. and were followed by regular board meetings, lasting on a number of Mondays late into the evening.

All items processed at the regular board meeting the following week, either "on the consent calendar" or "off the consent calendar." Items on the consent calendar were considered "routine" and the entire calendar was usually passed in one vote. Off-consent calendar items were discussed during the regular meeting the week after they were processed at the COW meeting in expectation of questions, controversy or conflict.

As was the case in Atlanta and Boston, to address the board formally, individuals or organizational representatives had to request, through the board's secretary, that their name, the organizations they represent and the issues they wished to discuss be placed on the agenda. The board imposed a three-minute time limit on each speaker, no matter how many issues a speaker might wish to address. During the 1977-78 school year approximately 20 COW and regular board meetings were held; 473 people addressed the board, for an average of 23.7 speakers per meeting. Given the board's three-minute time limit on speakers, approximately 70 minutes of each board meeting were devoted to listening to the public. Observation of the board and its use of the three-minute time limit indicated that it was used as a control device rather than as an effort to ensure that as many public speakers as possible were heard. Nonconfrontative speakers with well-prepared presentations were, more often than not, allowed to exceed the limit.

Given board procedures, many community people found that addressing the standing committees was the most promising way to get an issue (from the community perspective) on the table and resolved. Presentations at board meetings often resulted in the matter being referred to appropriate staff or committee. To save time and make sure that an issue was not substantially altered by transfer or reference, the use of standing committees with attached staff can be deemed most useful.

To support the assertion that the operating style of the LAUSD was consultative is not difficult. Even the casual observer cannot help but notice that in addition to the traditional forms of citizen involvement, such as PTA's, there existed at all levels in Los Angeles and the LAUSD an abundance of Citizen Advisory Councils, committees and ad hoc groups. It is this multiplicity of citizen groups that distinguished the operating style of the LAUSD from those of Atlanta and Boston, as well as the interactions of the board and the superintendent with the public.

As many observers have remarked, when the LAUSD had a problem it formed another citizens' advisory committee. An influential and institutionalized part of this advisory structure were the formally-related ethnic commissions, which were created as a result of citizen pressure in each of these communities. The four commissions and their years of foundation follow:

(1) Mexican American Education Commission (1969)
(2) Black Education Commission (1970)
(3) Asian American Education Commission (1971)
(4) American Indian Education Commission (1975)

During the interviews for this project, a respondent remarked, "Los Angeles style is to get lots of people from varying points of view together to discuss an issue where you don't want anything to be done." Los Angeles did have an unusually large number of State, district and self-mandated advisory groups, committees and commissions.

Approximately 50 percent of the LAUSD elementary schools participate in California's Early Childhood Education (ECE) Program, now included in the California School Improvement Program (SIP), which has extended ECE reforms into secondary schools. In each of the 200 or so schools that participate, the state program mandates an advisory council. The brainchild of State Superintendent of Schools, Wilson Riles, the program stresses individualized instruction and building on the diagnosed strengths and weaknesses of each student to plan an educational strategy. Over 90 percent of the state's school districts have schools involved in the K-3 program. Each of the advisory council's or committee's functions include assessing educational needs, defining and planning the achievement of goals, and evaluating the program. The SIP advisory committees also functioned as a communications network among the schools, parents, and the community as well as generally advising school staff and providing support for school programs.

Each school involved in the program has an advisory council comprised of parents, students, teachers, and other school personnel. The role of the councils is to participate as advisors in the planning of the educational process.

California is one of the few states that mandates advisory councils for all schools with compensatory education programs. In Los Angeles, approximately 150 schools have such councils.

In addition, a June 1971 board mandate stipulated that each elementary and secondary school had to provide for the establishment and operation of school advisory councils. In theory, this means over 500 district-mandated groups on the area level, leading in some areas to a "council of councils." A possible next stage in advisory council evolution might be a LAUSD-wide council comprised of representatives from each of the district's ten areas.

The desegregation issue gave birth to a host of committees and advisory groups (see Chapter IX: Desegregation Case Study). Because of the nature of advisory group proliferation in Los Angeles, strong doubt exists as to whether anyone knows exactly how many groups and committees operate in the system to allow and/or encourage parents and community people to participate in the educational program. It was the general perception of the people we interviewed, however, that these various committees, in fact, did not influence policy decisions.

MEMBERS' PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS

When the memberships of the 16 organizations involved in the study were surveyed for their impressions of their school systems, a number of conclusions became evident. Most striking were the different levels of confidence in the school systems expressed by organizations, when grouped by city. In Atlanta, where the operating style limited the amount and type of input from the public, confidence in the school system was high. In Los Angeles, however, where there was much more of an effort to involve the public, confidence in the leadership was considerably lower. In Boston, where citizen involvement has been dramatically increased through court action, confidence was somewhat more evenly spread. Impressions of the boards, however, showed a different pattern, with general dissatisfaction indicated in all three cities.

Table 7-13. Citizens' perceptions of local education agencies.

Do you think the superintendent shows strong leadership?

City	Responses, by percent:		
	Yes	No	No Response
Atlanta	56	28	16
Boston	43	43	14
Los Angeles	24	71	5

(Cont'd. on next page)

Table 7-18. (Continued)

Do you feel almost all of the people who run the school system usually know what they are doing?

City	Responses, by percent:		
	Yes	No	No Response
Atlanta	44	56	0
Boston	36	44	20
Los Angeles	11	89	0

Would you say that the school system is run for the benefit of the children?

City	Responses, by percent:		
	Yes	No	No Response
Atlanta	64	28	8
Boston	49	44	7
Los Angeles	24	67	9

Does the School Board provide strong leadership?

City	Responses, by percent:		
	Yes	No	No Response
Atlanta	36	56	8
Boston	35	44	21
Los Angeles	25	71	4

NOTE: During the period of this survey a new superintendent was chosen in Boston.

CONCLUSIONS

Comparison of the operating styles in the three cities provided a background on the relative openness of the corresponding bureaucracies. In Los Angeles, where the system was the most open of the three, there is a compatible operating style that in effect contributes to the level of openness. Atlanta, on the other hand, which maintained a relatively closed system, operated in a manner that supported professional power. The Boston school system, currently in transition, reflected a combination of the historical authoritative operating style of the school committee. Some adjustments are being made to allow for the impact of Federal court orders and the actions of the new superintendent. All three systems allow for citizen input; however, the differences in operating style seemed to influence the level of organizational activity. Presentations at board meetings, as shown in the following table, not only corresponded to the relative openness of the three systems, but were encouraged or discouraged by the operating style of the leadership of the respective systems.

Table 7-19. Average number of speakers from the public sector addressing the school boards of Atlanta, Boston and Los Angeles during the 1977-78 School Year. (Figures based on observation of 20 school board/community meetings during the year.)

Atlanta*	-	Community meetings, briefing sessions	3.65
Boston**	-	Regular committee meetings	7.0
Los Angeles	-	Regular board meetings	23.7

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*Each month the Atlanta Board of Education holds what it refers to as its "community meeting." An effort is made to bring the board to the community by holding four of these "community meetings" in one of the four geographic areas of the city. The majority of public presentations made to the Atlanta Board of Education are made at these meetings.

**The Boston School Committee held its first community meetings during the 1977-78 school year. The response from parents and community representatives was high.

It is important at this point that we again stress the difference between citizen involvement and citizen participation in the decisionmaking process. All three systems allowed for involvement: the same cannot be said for participation. When public presentations to the board were looked at in terms of the three major policy areas of budget, personnel and curriculum, we found a limited amount of activity in all three cities.

Table 7-20. Public presentations to school boards in major policy areas of budget, personnel and curriculum.

	Atlanta		Boston		Los Angeles	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Budget	1	1	9	6	40	8.4
Personnel	41*	56	47**	34	40	8.4
Curriculum	0	0	2	1	0	0
All others	31	42	82	58	392	83.2
Totals	79	99	140	99	472	100

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*At each regular or community board meeting, representatives of the Atlanta Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the Atlanta Association of Educators (AAE) made presentations on behalf of the teaching staff in an effort to promote collective bargaining as well as monitoring progress on employee benefits.

**Related mostly to staff assignments arising from court desegregation orders.

An analysis of the public presentations on the three issues identified as important in each city proved them to be only selectively important. Desegregation in Boston and Los Angeles were the only areas which aroused interest.

Table 7-21. Public presentations (in three policy areas identified by site staff) made to school boards during 1977-78 school year.

Atlanta

Topic	Number	Percent
Desegregation	2	2.7
Educational outcomes	4	5.5
Declining enrollment	3	4.1
Others	64	87.7
Totals	73	100

Boston

Topic	Number	Percent
Desegregation	53	37.9
Selection of new superintendent	8	5.7
School safety	8	5.7
Others	71	50.7
Totals	140	100

Los Angeles

Topic	Number	Percent
Desegregation (ethnic diversity)	182	38.5
Proposition 13	32	6.8
Collective bargaining (Rodda Act)	16	3.3
Others	242	51.1
Totals	472	99.7

Public concerns again focused on areas outside major policy, even as defined by members of the organizations themselves.

A breakdown of all presentations made by the public into eight general categories shows that they were concerned predominantly with particular and minor issues.

Table 7-22. Public presentation to school boards in eight general categories during the 1977-78 school year.

	Topic	Atlanta		Boston		Los Angeles	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
(1)	Plant maintenance	6	8.2	10	7.1	20	4.2
(2)	Educational programs	6	8.2	11	7.9	6	1.3
(3)	Special education programs	0	0	2	1.4	22	4.7
(4)	Staff	43	58.9	29	20.7	56	11.9
(5)	Students	6	8.2	10	7.1	42	8.9
(6)	School financing	1	1.4	9	6.4	72	15.2
(7)	Desegregation	1	1.4	38	27.1	182	38.6
(8)	Miscellaneous	10	13.7	31	22.1	72	15.2
	Totals	73	100	140	99.8	472	100

In our effort to match openness of the school system to influence exercized by community organizations we had to confront the fact that even though we observed differences in degree of openness in the three cities, it did not explain the lack of power, particularly of lower-income groups. This was a consistent finding in all our data across city lines. The lack of political decentralization of school systems and the maintenance of centralized professional decisionmaking must also contribute to the general lack of interest in the failure to influence school policy.

We must conclude, therefore, that the mechanisms allowing access for community organizations to the school system did not result in increased citizen participation in policymaking, but rather allowed for a greater or lesser degree of involvement without power. The school systems were more open to those types of organizations which they created and controlled and to organizations which supported the system and its values than to those which did not. School decisionmakers viewed middle-class organizations as more effective, while mandated organizations provided their contact with lower-class populations. We can anticipate that these systems will continue to rely heavily on these organizations as long as there are no pressures to do otherwise.

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Chapter VII

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VIII.

PARTICIPATION AND THE LIMITS OF A CITY CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

Our original research design for this study and our earlier reports emphasized the important influence of city political culture on community organizations. Earlier research by Gittell and others (Peterson, 1976, Iannacone, 1974) concluded that regional politics, State politics and ultimately the political environment of the city shaped school politics. This, we assumed, would affect the behavior of citizen organizations seeking to influence school policies. Our study of the three school systems and city political economies confirmed the interrelationship between these two systems. The comparative analysis of the 16 organizations, however, denied the significance of these external variables as influences on the effectiveness of community organizations. It became evident that national policies were a pervasive factor in determining the strategies and character of local organizations. Most significant were Federal and State grant programs which provided funding for delivery of education and other services by community organizations. A majority of the organizations had shifted from advocacy to service and used external financial support to maintain their organizations. In addition, Federal and State programs and court orders mandated school groups in each city. These groups, centered in lower-income areas, were advisory to the school system and replaced self-initiated community organizations.

Our analysis indicated further that class, as a factor, was the most influential determinant of group characteristics, strategies, behavior and effectiveness. Middle-income organizations were the most participatory; they were perceived as the most effective and most likely to engage in advocacy.

We realized that the differences in political culture which we observed in the three cities were not significant enough to overcome these two more important patterns of influence. The commonalities of the political economies of all three cities, the maintenance of a minority underclass population and the generally inequitable distribution of resources guaranteed that lower-income citizen organizations would not be influential in any of the cities. The minor differences of symbolic representation of blacks in the economic and political system in Atlanta, as compared to the other two cities, not only failed to change the role of the lower-income organizations; it did not change the character of school politics or policies. The centralized structure of city government in all three cities, the pervasive influence of "reform" professionalism, ensures limited access for lower-income groups. We have, as a result of these conclusions, reviewed in this chapter the common characteristics which have produced these results. The political styles which we distinguish are described in Appendix A: City Profiles.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

- Although the economic structure of the three cities differs, all maintain an economic underclass which has similar socioeconomic characteristics; as a result there is a narrow center of political power in each city.
- Atlanta has evidenced the greatest progress in increasing opportunities for black professionals.
- The three cities show no significant differences with regard to the political decentralization of city government.
- Electoral politics, which has been used as an avenue to increase the influence of blacks in Atlanta, has not made community organizations more effective or increased their access to the school system.
- Differences among city political cultures are reflected in the politics of their school systems. These differences, primarily related to political style, do influence the way in which organizations interact with government institutions.
- The networking activities of individual organizations do not appear related to political culture.
- Federal policy and economic class are more important influences on organizational strategy than city political culture.

POLITICAL CULTURE

Virtually all urban research emphasizes the importance of political culture in the determination of political behavior in urban subsystems. The city's political economy provides the environment in which all groups and individuals function. The literature abounds with definitions of political culture (Almond and Verba, 1963; Valentine, 1968; Key, 1949; Miller, 1965), but the common factors are socioeconomic and political; the outputs are climate or style. These indices that support and describe these factors include population diversity, economic distributive factors and evidences of sociopolitical norms. Though these factors are basic to any analysis of political culture, they lack two charactristics essential in any effective explanation of urban political behavior: measurement of government responsiveness to changing demands; and measurement of the extent to which government structure, formal or informal, encourages or retards the voicing of demands by a range of groups within the population. Although data collection for this research was based upon racial-ethnic mix, housing stock, income, educational levels and other widely accepted measures of population heterogeneity (see Appendix A: City Profiles), it became clear that from one time period to another, these measures lose any reliable incidence of comparability unless account is taken of the background imperatives of technological change and changing group expectations.

Political culture must be given another dimension that takes into consideration the potential for political and institutional change. The ability or inability of a political system to respond to social and economic pressures defines its political culture. Using this general concept of ability to change as a basis for understanding, we can evaluate the extent to which political and economic institutions represent or benefit the various segments of the population; the extent to which larger social and technological changes, impinging upon the urban political economy, compromise the expected economic satisfaction of some groups and, most importantly, the ability of the system to respond to articulated group demands. This permits us to focus on those economic and political factors most likely to influence the more equitable distribution of the resources and benefits of the system.

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC POWER: CHARACTERISTIC OF ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

The historical importance of economic leadership is that it provides continuing mainstream and formal (as well as informal) inputs to the political process by those population groups that are socioeconomically identified with the economic leadership. Our research concludes that a substantially unequal distribution of economic resources contributes in Boston, Atlanta, and in Los Angeles to an unfavorable allocation of economic power. This, in truth, undermines strategies intended to achieve political parity for minorities and poor groups.

The comparative potential for change in urban institutions and policies may be viewed from two perspectives: first, the extent to which minority groups within each city are developing their own economic strengths and, second, the degree to which a more equitable distribution of resources has taken place over a period of time.

DEVELOPING ECONOMIC POTENTIAL: INCREASE IN HIGH-STATUS EMPLOYMENT

The data compiled in our three site cities show that the characteristics of economic leadership are consistent from city to city. Within the leadership group, indices of race, class and ethnicity are fairly consistent. The indices are particularly consistent with regard to the excluded groups. Whereas minority groups, particularly blacks, have won marginal political force through holding political office, they still lack a sustaining economic foundation (see tables 8-1, 8-2, 8-3 and 8-4).

Using the growth in higher-income occupational employment from 1960 to 1970, we have looked for some indication of this conventional measure of economic potential among minority groups in each city. The most significant increase in the professional and managerial categories among minority populations was in Atlanta, with a fivefold increase (Bureau of the Census, 1960-1970). During this period, Atlanta's black population became the majority. Despite the advances blacks made into high-status occupation groups and despite representing over 50 percent of the population, blacks held only some 25 percent of the professional and managerial positions. In Los Angeles, blacks in 1970 held ten percent of managerial and professional jobs; in Boston, less than ten percent.

Although census data for Spanish-speaking populations were undifferentiated for the 1960 census, some positive gain can be seen for this group in the U. S. Census data trends between 1970 and 1977, particularly among Spanish-speaking males in Los Angeles. In 1970, only two percent of this group were employed in professional or managerial jobs; by 1977 that percentage had risen to 12 percent, for Boston in 1970, 1,000 or slightly more than one percent of the Spanish-speaking population were employed in these higher-income occupations.

Table 8.1. Altanta Occupational Categories 1970 & 1960

	1970		1960	
	All Races	Percent Black	All Races*	Percent** Non-White
Total Employed	209,136	.47	197,327	.35
Professionals, Technicals	28,524	.31	19,711	.17
Managers, Administrators	15,412	.16	16,626	.04
Sales	14,014	.17	15,296	.05
Clericals	45,939	.36	35,791	.11
Craftsmen	20,304	.38	17,616	.19
Operatives	34,172	.64	42,604	.33
Laborers	12,445	.76	9,799	.78
Service (Non-Household	28,358	.71	23,268	.73
Service (Household)	9,771	.96	14,019	.96
	Female			
Total Employed	94,093	.50	80,811	.38
Professionals, Technicals	13,843	.43	8,596	.24
Managers, Administrators	3,260a	.31a	2,387a	.08a
Sales	5,557	.12	4,993	.04
Clericals	32,203	.32	24,538	.05
Craftsmen	N/A	N/A	910	.21
Operatives	10,536	.90	8,720	.45
Laborers	1,447	.17	418	.81
Service (Non-Household)	16,171	.72	10,634	.70
Service (Household)	94,308	.97	13,388	.95

a - Does not include farm managers.

* Eight percent total employed not reported by occupational category.

** Seven percent total employed not reported by occupational category; 1960 census unspecified by racial group.

Source: Dept. of Commerce; Bureau of Census 1970 and 1960

Table 8.2. Boston Occupational Categories 1970 & 1960

	1970			1960	
	All Races	Percent Black	Percent Spanish	All Races*	Percent** Non-White
Total Employed	266,505	.13	.02	188,246	.18
Professionals, Technicals	44,894	.08	.02	33,476	.09
Managers, Administrators	15,035	.08	.01	15,513	.05
Sales	15,073	.07	.01	18,401	.03
Clerical	71,655	.10	.02	19,949	.17
Craftsmen	27,157	.13	.02	32,398	
Operatives	36,695	.20	.04	52,175	.17
Laborers	11,031	.16	.02	11,864	.13
Service (Non-Household)	42,683	.17	.02	44,525	.13
Service (Household)	2,005	.43	.03	3,359	.61
	Female				
Total Employed	122,284	.28	.02	115,998	.12
Professionals, Technicals	21,746	.16	.01	14,790	.08
Managers	3,654	.31	.01	2,802	.04
Sales	6,884	.14	.01	7,186	.04
Clericals	52,783	.14	.02	40,384	.05
Craftsmen	1,464	.11	.01	1,421	.09
Operators	13,557	.20	.04	19,533	.21
Laborers	986	.18	.01	390	.14
Service (Non-Household)	19,306	.18	.02	13,581	.15
Service (Household)	1,847	.44	.03	3,193	.56

* Nine percent of total employed unreported by occupational category.

** Fifteen percent of total employed unreported by occupational category; 1960 unspecified according to social group.

Source: Dept. of Commerce; Bureau of Census 1970 and 1960

Table 8.3. Los Angeles Occupational Categories 1970 & 1960

	1970			1960	
	All Races	Percent Black	Percent Spanish	All Races*	Percent** Non-White
Total Employed	1,150,796	.15	.16	1,031,688	.16
Professionals, Technicals	208,821	.09	.08	148,844	.09
Managers, Administrators	107,657	.05	.08	101,731	.08
Sales	92,411	.07	.09	81,705	.06
Clericals	252,516	.15	.13	182,748	.12
Craftsmen	125,632	.13	.21	117,084	.11
Operatives	172,182	.21	.33	176,935	.19
Laborers	46,589	.23	.25	38,807	.31
Service (Non-Household)	127,742	.28	.18	55,148	.47
Service (Household)	17,246	.51	.19	23,879	.55
	Female				
Total Employed	466,368	.17	.15	386,522	.17
Professionals, Technicals	74,043	.14	.08	45,792	.13
Managers, Administrators	22,346	.07	.07	18,423	.07
Sales	32,822	.09	.09	25,887	.06
Clerical	186,414	.14	.12	129,616	.10
Craftsmen	7,627	.16	.25	4,964	.16
Operatives	61,324	.20	.39	72,676	.18
Laborers	3,624	.22	.24	1,937	.41
Service (Non-Household)	61,606	.28	.15	36,146	.28
Service (Household)	16,349	.52	.19	22,465	.55

**Two percent of total employed unreported by occupational category; 1960 Census unspecified by racial groups.

*Seven percent of total employed unreported by occupational categories

Sources: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census 1970 and 1960.

Table 8-4. Comparative table of minority-owned business.

	Atlanta*	Boston*	Los Angeles*
Total Population	451,000	618,000	2,749,000
Percent Minority Population	52	18.2	22.8
Total number of business establishments*	17,024	11,909	147,890
Black owned	1,987	717	7,042
Number of employees in minority businesses	422	158	928
Hispanic owned	N.A.	N.A.	5,187
Asian owned	N.A.	N.A.	6,629
Average number of paid employees per minority firm	5	N.A.	6 (Asian, Hispanic & Black)
Gross receipt for all minority firms**	$110,422	$44,684	$343,097 (Asian) 229,511 (Black) 225,973 (Hispanic)

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*Atlanta here means Fulton County; Boston, Suffolk County; and Los Angeles, Los Angeles County.
**In $000's.
N.A. Not available

Sources: County Business Patterns: U.S. Census 1975; Survey of Minority Owned Business Enterprises, 1972; U.S. Census Population 1970.

In 1972 (latest available figures) the total number of black-owned firms in Atlanta (Fulton County) was 1,987, representing slightly over eight percent of all business firms in the city. Just over 25 percent of these businesses had paid employees (Bureau of the Census; 1972 Survey of Minority Owned Business). Comparatively, of the total number of firms located in Atlanta, 17,025, over 50 percent had paid employees (Bureau of the Census, County Business Patterns, 1975).

The total number of business establishments in Los Angeles was 147,890: Blacks owned 7,042; Mexican-Americans owned 5,187; and Asian-Americans owned 6,629. Minority firms averaged six paid employees per firm. Boston's black population owned 717 business firms (see table 8-4). The number of black firms with paid employees was 158, a small enough number not to require disclosure of gross receipts and average number of paid employees (Bureau of the Census; 1972 Survey of Minority Owned Businesses).

Blacks have considerably more economic power in Atlanta than they have in Boston or Los Angeles. One cannot ignore the fact, however, that the Hunter study (updated in part by Stone, 1976) lists no black as an "economic determinant." In none of the three cities have black elected officials been able to parlay their leadership positions into significant economic gains among grassroots black people. The combined forces of institutional racism and the fiscal crises that cities were facing reduced the ability of black elected officials to translate their personal positional advantage into gains for blacks in general.

Economic power is held by white business influentials. In Boston, early threats to Yankee economic leverage were restrained by the mechanisms of political reform. Neither Atlanta nor Los Angeles has experienced any serious threat mounted by minority or immigrant groups to the economic leadership structure. Labor groups and unions in these cities have historically been unable to mount a serious or effective attack to redistribute economic resources. In Los Angeles, the added factor of several ethnic minority populations competing for limited economic resources mitigates against cooperation between racial groups at the same economic level.

Formal and informal inputs by certain population groups to the political process is retarded because they lack influential economic leadership. Lindblom suggests that the holders of economic power control not only their own wide sphere of policy but also those areas of political decisionmaking which they seek to control, (Lindblom, 1977). Control exercised through newspaper ownership, banking interests and land holding effect the entire population. A critical mass of power is exercised when these elements align themselves in opposition to desegregation, for redlining, and against system change such as a return to partisan district elections (Gottlieb and Walt, 1977; Allen, 1971). Economic power is supported by a favorable political system which is highly resistant to demands for social change.

The age, regional location and economic base of a city are classified as its major economic environmental factors. Older cities, particularly those of the East, have been shown to exhibit a predictable pattern of vibrant economic activity that gradually deteriorated into periods of fiscal crises as the cities continued to age. Newer cities of the Southwest, at first glance, seem to have escaped this type of development. The data indicate, however, that the seeds of economic and social crisis are present in cities such as Los Angeles, largely as the result of the lack of adjustment to new populations and new technology. The dependence on service industries and on skilled labor and white-collar workers in all of the cities demonstrates a lack of response to new city populations (see employment tables 8-1, 8-2, 8-3). Los Angeles is experiencing middle-class white flight and increasing economic separation between white and minority groups. Employment-sector segregation is based primarily upon educational advantage and racial discrimination that place Anglos in white-collar jobs and minorities in service organizations. Residential distinctions based upon race and class are strong; the great distances between neighborhoods reinforce them. The segregation of employment and residential groups is buttressed by racial segregation in housing sales. Redlining is a fact (Schemmel, 1972; Grebler et al, 1970; U.S. Commission on Urban Problems, 1967). These kinds of issues are all too familiar in declining eastern cities and were true even earlier in southern cities. Given an economic system unresponsive to social change and closed to new population groups, it follows that with a city's economic maturity these figures will start to surface even in western cities, where until most recently they were overlooked in the celebration of a rapidly expanding urban economy.

The economic profiles of the three cities demonstrate that even under circumstances of economic growth in Los Angeles, or economic revitalization in Atlanta, there continues to be a large underclass population untouched by these developments (see table 8-5). The national economic phenomena are pervasive. Inflation and unemployment take their greatest toll on this population. The fiscal crisis in cities and policy responses which limit expenditures also have their greatest impact on these already deprived groups--the black, Asian and Hispanic populations. In each of these cities the marginally employed, underemployed and unemployed largely comprise this same population. The shift of the economy from manufacturing to service industries is common to all three cities. These unskilled workers cannot enter the labor market in manufacturing as they did in the past because of the limited number of jobs available (Community Relations Report, 1979; Boston Municipal Abstract, 1970; Community Analysis Bureau; Employment Trends, 1975).

No adjustments have been made in the economic base of the cities to meet the needs of this segment of their populations. On the contrary, technological developments have reduced the number of jobs; outward movement of manufacturing from the city further intensifies the problem (Boston Municipal Abstract, 1970; Farley, 1978). Whatever redevelopment or revitalization of the cities has taken place in the last decade, particularly in Atlanta and Boston, has had little or no impact on the economic well-being of this population. Redevelopment of downtown areas in both cities was, in fact, achieved at the expense of housing for these underclass groups.

In all three cities transportation systems, including the newly constructed Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) in Atlanta, or the lack of such systems, serve the middle-class populations and constrain access of the poor to jobs. Residential segregation continues to take its toll, confining these groups to the oldest housing stock and overcrowded areas. Redlining guarantees that movement and support for revitalization will be limited.

The fiscal plight of these cities is not as serious as many others in the Northeast or selectively throughout the country (Touche, Ross & Co., 1979). All are, however, dependent on a declining property-tax base for support of governmental services. The movement from capital-intensive manufacturing industries to labor-intensive service industries created jobs but no new taxable property. All three cities are dependent on State and Federal aid and support programs. CETA employees, for instance, now comprise 20 to 30 percent of city job holders. Any decrease in Federal support for these programs will create new fiscal pressures (Cameron, 1979).

Although Boston has the most tenuous economic prospects because of a continuing decline in two areas of its historical economic base--manufacturing and retailing--its population decline has halted. Boston's decline is in many ways typical of older cities in the eastern region; it has an unusually high property tax, and well over 60 percent of all property is tax exempt. Assessment of commercial property is at 78 percent, and residential at 43 percent of full value--with numerous exceptions. Boston raises 70 percent of local revenues through property taxes. According to the Boston Plan (1977), the city's main economic concern is the revitalization of declining neighborhoods and the reestablishment of commercial areas, dispersed throughout the city (Boston Plan, 1977).

Boston, like other cities of the eastern region, has seen businesses that employ large numbers of workers relocate to the urban fringes. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of workers who lived in the city but worked outside the city proper increased by a third (Bahl and Campbell, 1976).

Atlanta has clearly established where its economic future lies. The conversion of the downtown area into a hotel/restaurant/convention complex has been on the city agenda for at least twenty years (Stone, 1976). The fact that Atlanta is predominantly black with a black mayor does not seem to have altered this plan. What it does do is reinforce the employment pattern that finds most blacks in service occupations and most whites in white-collar and clerical employment.

Cities with large minority (black) population often have a distinctive fiscal profile. Cities such as Atlanta spend more per capita in service categories than cities with relatively small minority populations. State and Federal aid to minority cities nationally are approximately 18 percent higher than aid to predominantly white cities (Pettigrew, 1976). High poverty rates place such cities under pressure to provide additional social services (see tables 8-5, 8-6; Bryce and Martin, 1976). Poverty in black cities with black mayors is "high and deep"; those who are poor are not simply borderline poor. It would take considerable specific programming to alter their situation for the better. Atlanta is one of these cities with "deep" indices of poverty. Although the city is certainly not considered in fiscal decline (relative to cities of the Northeast), new studies report that Atlanta's fiscal picture, based upon its debt ratios, is showing signs of strain (Touche, Ross & Co., 1979). Additionally, the breakdown of labor into a service and white-collar dichotomy indicates that in such cities, the poor have limited employment horizons (Bahl and Campbell, 1976; Boston Plan, 1977; Economic Development of Southern California Report, 1976).

Los Angeles has a history of economic prosperity (Trend Analysis, Economic Development of Southern California, Vol. I, 1976). Although its fiscal position is stronger than those of the other two cities, it is coupled with high unemployment. Since 1940, the city has been able to absorb a great number of skilled new residents (Trend Analysis, Economic Development of Southern California, Vol. I, 1976). Cyclical business and unemployment curves have generally been masked by the fact that Los Angeles has had one of the highest per-capita incomes in the country (Economic Development of Southern California, Vol. I, 1976). Major economic goals are to sustain or increase the output of its major industries--apparel and aerospace manufacture and tourism--in the face of a national inflationary economic pressure. The industry most directly affected by inflation is tourism, which in Southern California employs 20 percent of all workers (Trend Analysis, Economic Development of Southern California, Vol. II, 1976). Over one-third of these workers are black, Mexican-American or other minorities.

Table 8-5. Family income levels, all families and black families, by family size and for female heads of households in Boston, Atlanta, and Los Angeles, 1969.

	Boston		Atlanta		Los Angeles	
	All families	Black families	All families	Black Families	All families	Black families
All income levels, families	142,019	23,438	119,326	56,938	694,719	117,959
Income less than poverty level, families	16,624	5,929	19,023	14,289	68,501	25,184
Percent of all families	11.7	25.3	15.9	25.1	9.9	21.3
Mean family income	$2,093	$2,259	$1,999	$2,079	$1,886	$2,079
Mean family deficit	$1,526	$1,622	$1,710	$1,802	$1,606	$1,705
Percent receiving public assistance	45.6	61.2	27.8	31.1	34.3	51.8
Mean size of family	3.94	4.31	4.07	4.32	3.79	4.22
Mean number of related children under 18	2.99	3.12	3.01	3.13	2.80	3.11
Families with female heads	9,419	4,336	9,394	7,893	33,843	16,325
With related children under 18	8,488	4,172	8,023	6,905	30,544	15,335
Percent of heads in labor force	15.4	13.9	50.2	50.2	31.0	28.2

Source: U.S. Census, 1970.

Table 8-6. Income and poverty levels in Atlanta, Boston, and Los Angeles, 1970.

	Income level		Incidence of poverty	
	Median income	Mean income	Percent of population with income below poverty level	Percent of poverty-level families with female head
Atlanta	$ 8,464	$10,840	15.9	50.8
Boston	9,133	10,272	11.7	56.6
Los Angeles	10,535	12,764	9.9	49.4

Source: U.S. Census, 1970.

The economies of all three cities are influenced by national and international policies, circumstances beyond their control. The economic outlooks for both Boston and Atlanta are, however, to a greater degree dependent upon what happens within the city, its priorities and programs, than is the economic future of Los Angeles. Two of Los Angeles' major industries--aerospace and tourism--depend heavily on outside demands.

As in other cities, service delivery in Los Angeles is supported mainly by the property tax. The recent passage of Proposition 13, cutting property taxes and placing limits on any further increases, will eventually force cutbacks in service areas. Minorities will certainly be the most adversely affected by budget constraints and program reductions. In addition, Federal policies have reinforced regional developments in economic growth. For the last decade, cities in the southern and western regions have benefited from such policies (Piven and Cloward, 1977). Economic growth potential in these regions depends substantially upon professional and skilled workers because of the regions' development in service and high technology industries.

A city's economic base serves as an indication of the mix of its labor force and its ability to survive an economic downturn. Urban economies that depend largely on a single purchaser (the Federal Government), a single industry (tourism), or industries subject to rapid change (electronics), as does Los Angeles, will have a large segment of marginally employed workers among which minorities will be quite prominent. Dependence on government employment through special program or budget support is also precarious for secondary labor-market employees (Bahl and Campbell, 1976; Cameron, 1979; Boston Plan, 1977).

THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND ECONOMIC REDISTRIBUTION

The public sector can create policies which potentially redistribute economic benefits and political power, although they cannot technically increase wealth.

Warner (1971) has noted that, at the earliest stage of development, the services provided by local governments were those which could not be profitably provided by the private sector. Moreover, the purpose of local government was to facilitate the operation of private economic interests. Lineberry (1967) sees the demands for public services as the most direct form of citizen participation. During the 1960s, the Federal Government developed programs which were more direct in redistributing services to groups which had not been receiving such services before. These programs also provided for an increase in public sector jobs. Included in the programs was a measure of local control, "creative federalism," directed at encouraging at least some redistribution of power, giving community groups more direct input into the policy process, in determining priorities and the delivery of services in their neighborhoods (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1974).

During the late 1960s organizations began to establish themselves on the basis of providing services in the local community as the agency of governmental programs. The idea of local "multiservice" centers became a focal point for community organizations and, occasionally, political action; public funds provided some support for organizational maintenance. Taking their lead from the Federal Government, local and State governments also began to increase their activities as redistributive mechanisms. The response by local and State governments varied significantly by region. In the South, the establishment by the Federal Government of minimum standards for social welfare activities was fought; the minimum became the level of benefits. In the Northeast, benefit levels have been higher and a broader range of services provided. When combined with the historical emphasis on organizations in the Northeast, the tie between the public economy and organizational behavior in this region has been the greatest. In the West, the expansion of the State and local economies has been such that the redistributive function has been incorporated more easily into the expanding pie (Couch, et al, 1977).

The 1970s saw a retreat from the small redistributive actions of the 1960s. The pressure of State and local fiscal crises and the concept that the Federal budget gap must be closed have led to a lessening of the redistributive function of the public economy. The interrelationship between the private and public economies has become evident as the private economic elite is openly included in public policy decisionmaking.

The New York City experience provides insight into the network of power holders which becomes more visible during times of fiscal stress. The economic power of the city's banks becomes quite evident. (Newfield and Dubrul).

One can already observe that State and local governments are following the lead of the Federal Government in withdrawing from earlier attempts to redistribute resources. In some cases the States have gone beyond the Federal thrust and placed constitutional and statutory limits on taxes, debt and expenditures. Despite these trends, community organizations still appear to view the local government as a mechanism for redistribution. The organizations in this study seldom address Federal or State lobby decisionmakers or concern themselves with these broader policy issues (see Chapter V, Networking).

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE, ELECTORAL POLITICS AND POLITICAL RESPONSIVENESS

In their effort to distinguish variables which influence policy outputs urban scholars have viewed reform characteristics as a major influence (e.g., at-large elections, nonpartisan voting, professionalism). Banfield and Wilson (1968) recognized that city reform reduced the role of "private-regarded" interests, particularly the ethnic and lower-class populations. "Public-regarded" reformers ostensibly promoted the city's larger interests. It is not surprising, therefore, that the greater the number of reform structures the more alienated from the political process are increased numbers in the population, regardless of race or economic status. A study by Lineberry and Fowler (1967) and a more recent study by Dye (Urban Affairs Quarterly, 1978) affirm the evidence that cities with a more comprehensive approach--the nonreform cities--are more responsive to the social and ethnic character of their populations. Although by general criteria all three cities would be viewed as reform cities with weak party organizations, there are some observable structural differences.

Los Angeles' city government is the most decentralized; it has at the same time the weakest party structure and the most rigid civil service system. Its city council is the strongest of the three cities, as is the State government's role in local affairs. (See Appendix A: City Profiles).

Atlanta and Boston are closer to each other than to Los Angeles in their political character yet differ in some respects. Boston is the more centralized of the two cities, the mayor's office is stronger. The party structure is more developed and the civil service system is more rigid. The city council in Atlanta is more independent than the Boston council; the civil service system is weaker. Atlanta city government is minimally more decentralized than is Boston (Comprehensive Development Plan; Dept. of Budget and Planning, 1976).

It is unusual that in two of our three cities there are black mayors, both of whom have sought and established a base of political support in the white community. Bradley has solidified his power as a political leader, although the structural supports for a mayor in Los Angeles are very weak. He has relied heavily on individual leadership networks and uses the old style of exchange politics to overcome the dispersal of power which characterizes the city (Gottlieb and Walt, 1977). This means less overt action and more inside wheeling and dealing. Although the mayor has not involved himself in educational issues publicly our respondents identified him as heavily involved and a key decisionmaker (Los Angeles Site Coordinator's Journal).

Mayor Jackson, in Atlanta, has also had to consolidate a personal local power base in the city because of the lack of a local party structure (Pettigrew, 1976). His creation of the Neighborhood Planning Units is viewed as an attempt to build local political organizations loyal to him. He has also increasingly relied on business for support. Jackson has also limited his public role in school issues, but is viewed as a potential powerbroker in the school system.

Blacks have been effective in entering the political arena through electoral politics in Atlanta, which may best be explained by their larger numbers but also by a political environment which has discouraged the organization of community groups. The Urban Observatory report by Steggert on Atlanta concluded that community organizations were not active participants in the political life in Atlanta; our research verifies this finding (Steggert, 1975). Los Angeles boasts a wide variety of active community groups. Encouraged by the diversity of the population, they reflect the general dispersal of power in the city. Official agencies engage these groups in their own activities. This explains perhaps the constant complaint of the community organizations we have studied that "they are heard, but nothing ever happens." In comparing the three cities, Boston holds a middle ground in the activity of community groups. The citizen organizations are involved but have limited access to the system. They are not encouraged nor are they bypassed (see Chapter VII, The Politics of School Systems and Community Organization Access).

In comparing the three cities, Atlanta, because of its relatively closed political system, offers the least fertile environment for effective community organizations to influence policies. Boston runs a close second to Atlanta, allowing little room for change. Los Angeles gives the impression of participation but is more accurately viewed as "involving" its community organizations. Greenstone and Peterson (1973), in their comparative study of the implementation of poverty programs, conclude that the dispersal of power in Los Angeles, in fact, has undermined the effectiveness of community organizations.

The Parameters of Electoral Politics

One assumes that the representation of new groups in the electoral process can open channels for a redistribution of political roles in the system. In all three cities, the political realities are that nonpartisan, at-large voting dilutes lower-class and minority political influence (The Committee for Boston Charter Reform (undated); Jackson, 1977). The election of a black, Hispanic or other minority leader depends upon having a minority candidate to support. Social and economic constraints have not yet allowed the development of a large pool of such candidates from which to choose. The registered minority voter is deeply committed to the Democratic Party, and this often consigns his or her vote to the category of those votes taken for granted (see Appendix A).

Black candidates in most cities, certainly in the three site cities, must be acceptable to white voters. In Atlanta's 1969 elections for council and school board members, it was not the black vote that was decisive in determining the election results. According to the Atlanta Voters Project, in 15 of 18 aldermanic races and seven of 10 school board elections, the black vote was not the deciding factor. Yet 68 percent of the eligible black voters were registered and, in 1970, blacks were officially computed as the largest population group (U.S. Census). In California, in the most recent elections, two major black incumbent State officials were defeated for reelection. Although Hispanics are the largest minority population in Los Angeles there are no Hispanic council members or statewide office holders. There has been one Mexican-American on the school board and one Hispanic member of the city council (see Chapter VII). Boston elected its first black school board member since the early 1900s in 1978, and its first black council member in the 1960s.

Our research supports the view that at-large nonpartisan elections underrepresent minority interests. In Atlanta the change to district elections for the city council and the school board resulted in an increase in black representation. The switch to district elections in Los Angeles is projected to increase black and Chicano representation. Boston turned down a proposal to adopt a district system of elections for the city council and the school system.

Hamilton strongly advocates electoral politics as a means of achieving political parity for the black majority. Through the vote, Hamilton suggests, the black community can become a part of the political trade-offs essential to the policy process (Hamilton, 1967). The vote may increase the probability of more elected black leaders; however, our analysis suggests that this does not necessarily produce other gains. Trade-offs may be for individual, not group, gain. It is clear that the

Table 8-7. Black voter registration in Atlanta (Fulton County portion), 1945-1969.

Date	Total black registered voters	Percent of all registered voters
I. Prior to elimination of white primary		
1945	3,000 (approx.)	4.0
1946 (February)	6,876	8.3
II. Following Elimination of white primary		
1946 (June)	21,244	27.2
1952	22,300	25.8
1956	23,400	27.0
1958	27,400	25.3
1960	34,393	29.5
1961	41,469	28.6
1962	44,846	31.5
1963	43,722	31.5
1964	59,084	34.0
1965	59,483	34.5
1966	63,807	36.0
1967	64,390	36.8
1968	75,631	38.0
1969	81,354	40.7
1973	101,285	49.0

Sources: Malcolm Suber, "The Internal Black Politics of Atlanta, Georgia, 1944-1969: An Analytic Study of Leadership Roles and Organizational Thrusts," (masters thesis, Atlanta University, 1975), p. 37, Table 6; Birdie Hardon, "A Statistical Analysis of the Black-White Voting Coalition in Atlanta 1940-1970," (masters thesis, Georgia State University, 1972); Vep, 1973 Elections in Atlanta (Atlanta, 1973); Weldon Jackson, "Participation and Political Change in Urban South: Black Politics in Atlanta, Georgia and Birmingham, Alabama, 1965-1975," (Ph.d. dissertation, Harvard University, 1977).

election of black political leaders makes the political leadership more symbolically representative of urban populations, but the class dichotomy between the leadership and the black electorate diminishes responsiveness to grassroots demands. Black elected leaders such as Bond, Jackson and Young of Atlanta; Bradley, Braithwaite and Watson of Los Angeles do represent a change in racial composition of the leadership: they do not necessarily represent a change in the leadership class.

The history of black electoral politics in Atlanta is instructive. Starting in the 1930s and until the 1960s the Atlanta Civic and Political League, representing the elite black leadership in the city, organized to elect public officials. The results were far from impressive over three decades; most important was the fact that no changes were effected in the segregated character of the city and its school system. The activist organizations which emerged in the 1950s and 1960s set desegregation of all public facilities as their major goal. Within a decade they accomplished their purpose. The role of traditional black political institutions in Atlanta are now undergoing what may be a significant change. Middle-class leaders who emerged from established black institutions such as the church and fraternal groups are being challenged, often successfully, by a new style of leadership identified with community interests.

Few black candidates sought elective office before 1969. The possibility of electoral success increased substantially with the elimination of the all-white primary in the 1940s and with the rapid increase of registered minority voters. However, a conservative black leadership determined that it was in the interests of blacks to remain in coalition with the white leadership, supporting white candidates, and actively discouraging potential black candidates (Jackson, 1977).

Hamilton criticizes newly developing roles between voters and politicians. New role structures shift and reduce the patron-client exchange in electoral politics to a patron-recipient relationship where there is no political exchange and no political gain for the recipient. His argument fails to recognize that the decline in party politics is an integral factor in the old model of political interdependence between politician and voter. The patron-client exchange and the strength of electoral politics as sources of power cannot take place without a local party organization and benefits which can be dispensed. In place of the local party structure community organizations may provide a new political base.

> "The election of 1977 clearly showed the influence of community-oriented politics. Strong community-oriented candidates were elected to the City Council and in concert with community-oriented incumbents, forged a multiracial coalition which represents a new political formulation in the city of no little interest to the

black community.

> "Six of the eighteen persons elected to the City Council in 1977 ran as self-identified community-oriented politicians. Each candidate claimed significant efforts on behalf of their respective communities and even the at-large candidates were careful to endorse the NPU program and the desirability of community input into governmental matters which affected those communities.
>
> "Of the five new council persons elected in 1977, four of them came directly from positions in community organizations which had been active in the local politics of zoning and land use. The new City Council President, as well, had a long record of association with a very active black community group in southwest Atlanta." (Moss, 1979).

Strong political parties have been thought to benefit minority groups. Strong political parties (as characterized by the machine-style of politics of the late 1800s and early 1900s) performed positive functions in servicing individual needs (Burnham, 1975). In addition, political machines served as an integrative mechanism in an atmosphere in which political power was dispersed.

In order to distinguish comparative differences in electoral politics in the three cities, we used Greenstone and Peterson's index, and examined the mayoral primaries for the years 1967-1977 (see Appendix A: Electoral Politics).

In Atlanta, eight candidates participated in the 1969 mayoral primary election: two of the losing candidates received more than 20 percent of the vote. The 1973 mayoral primary showed a trend toward the development of stronger political organization. Only five candidates ran. Maynard Jackson received 47 percent of the vote; his two closest opponents, Massell and Welther, received 20 and 19 percent of the vote respectively. This trend continued in 1977. Again, 5 candidates ran. Jackson received 64 percent of the vote; none of his opponents achieved 20 percent. As a result there was no runoff election. Atlanta's mayoral elections thus show that within the structure of nonpartisan elections, Jackson was able to develop a personal organization which reduced competition. In Los Angeles, all three elections we analyzed had several candidates: 14 in 1969; eight in 1973; and 12 in 1977. In each election at least one losing candidate garnered more than 20 percent of the vote. By 1977 Bradley had developed a personal organization that captured the mayor's office for him without need for a runoff election.

In Boston in each election several candidates ran for office (ten in

1967; six in 1971; four in 1975. In each election at least one losing candidate received 20 percent of the vote. Our analysis indicates the relative success in these nonpartisan cities in encouraging many candidates to run for political office.

Decentralization

Each of the three cities have levels of decentralization that are essentially administrative. Transference of decisionmaking authority to local units was nonexistent in both the school system and the overall political structure. Boston's Little City Halls (LCH's) served as citizen complaint and information centers. In Atlanta, neighborhood planning units were established as a result of the 1975 charter revision to facilitate citizen input into the budgeting and planning process. In Los Angeles, decentralization was the means by which a city covering a vast land area made service delivery more responsive to local neighborhoods. (See table 8-8 and Appendix A: City Profiles).

No decisionmaking powers have been decentralized in any of the three cities. Boston's LCH's are extensions of the mayor's office and are staffed by the mayor's appointees, responsible only to him. In some cases neighborhood advisory groups have been created by the local administrator. However, these citizen groups were neither widespread nor did they have political influence (Nordlinger 1972).

Boston's LCH's were proposed as a method by which neighborhoods could gain local control and access to decisionmakers. In practice, all citizen input was at the discretion of the local administrators. Access was reduced because local administrators had no decisionmaking powers and had in turn to contact a central authority to resolve neighborhood complaints. In addition, analysis of citizen use of Boston's LCH's reveals that families with very low incomes do not use LCH's as often as those with larger incomes. "There is almost a linear increase in the proportion of Little City Hall clients, from 19 percent among the poor to 35 percent among those earning $15,000 to $25,000, (Nordlinger, 1972).

In Atlanta, the creation of neighborhood planning units (NPU's) was coincident with the start of Mayor Jackson's second term. Ordinances passed at the time of the charter revision mandated neighborhood participation. Public hearings, reviews, and citizen input to draft plans were to be facilitated by the NPU staffs and the Neighborhood Planning Councils (NPC's)(Comprehensive Development Plan for Atlanta for 1976). Administration of this charter reform was assigned to the mayor's office.

Atlanta's NPU's are geographic designations based in part upon a concept of neighborhoods. Thus, the NPU's in no way alter the historical race-and income-based economic or political power imbalance between neighborhoods. Moreover, although local community organizations were included as members of NPU's so were local businesses (Atlanta Comprehensive Planning Act, 1975). This preserved the historical importance of business leaders as a separate interest group in Atlanta. Each NPU has a planner assigned indirectly through the Bureau of Budget and Planning.

Coordination of service delivery was the primary function of Branch City Halls (BCH's) in Los Angeles. In some cases these had been in existence for over 30 years (Washins, 1971). Citizens have no formal role in the operating of the BCH's; they do not evaluate performance, serve on boards or provide feedback to the city about the BCH's. In Los Angeles, the creation of BCH's with full-service offices went a step beyond the limited provision of services in other cities. These Los Angeles offices, however, favored the more affluent areas, offering them the greatest range of services. The office in Watts, a minority community, provides the most limited services available in any branch.

Los Angeles was the only one of the three cities where political decentralization has been a real issue. Recommendations to the charter commissions had proposed that citizens be formally involved in the governing process. Opposition to enabling legislation that would create neighborhood boards came primarily from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and council members who viewed themselves as the legitimate liaison between the local government and the various neighborhoods. Business interests consistently have opposed decentralization because they are concerned about the growth of "ward-like" self-interest groups (Washins, 1971).

Table 8-8. Comparative decentralization of local government.

	Atlanta	Boston	Los Angeles
Type of decentralization	administrative/ political	administrative	administrative
Number of units	24	14	11
Designation	Neighborhood Planning Units (NPU's)	Little City Halls (LCH's)	Branch City Halls (BCH's)
Principal activities	Neighborhood Planning	Information/ Complaint Center	Service Delivery
Type/amount of citizen input	Formal/ potentially widespread	Informal/ limited	Informal and formal limited
Decentralization as a mechanism for social change	Limited	Limited	Limited

Ranked levels of decentralization in the three site cities appear to correspond to the degree to which organizational leaders interfaced with city public offices. Boston was the sole city in which organizational leaders responded that they had never talked or written to public officials on issues that were of concern to their organizations (see leadership questionnaire, item 45, for full responses; see also table 8-9).

Table 8-9. Comparative organizational political activity and levels of administrative decentralization for Boston, Atlanta, and Los Angeles.

Number of times written or talked to public officials	Ranked levels of decentralization		
	Lowest	Lower	Low
Never to two times	Boston		
three to four times		Atlanta	
five or more times			Los Angeles

The minor differences observed in the political structure of these three cities demonstrate that regional politics are no longer as important as they once were in determining the character of local politics. Common characteristics have become more pervasive. It may also be that cities have lost flexibility and discretion. More extensive research and a fuller sample of cities, distinguished by size and economic structure, would be necessary for stronger conclusions to be reached.

CITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

The original research design hypothesized that a city's political culture was a prime determinant of organizational activity. Our analysis of the data (see Chapter III: Toward a typology of organization) indicates that organization strategy and economic class were the primary predictors of organizational characteristics and activities. These factors were significantly more important than the environment, political culture, and traditions of the city in which the organizations function. These do, however, have some influence on political behavior and on organizational activities.

Organizational Characteristics

In examining selected organizational characteristics, we focused on membership size and the average number of meetings attended by members. In terms of organization size, no clear pattern emerged (leadership questionnaire, item 17). Of the organizations which are reported in table 8-10, only one self-initiated organization is in the less-than-50 category; the other five organizations are mandated, indicating the importance of this variable rather than city political culture.

In terms of the number of meetings the membership attends, a small distinction could be seen in Atlanta, but no clear overall pattern emerged (membership questionnaire, item 8).

Table 8-10. Organization membership size, by city.

	MEMBERSHIP SIZE				
City	Less than 50	51-100	101-200	200+	NR
Atlanta	1	1	1	2	1
Boston	3	-	-	1	1
Los Angeles	2	1	-	2	-

Table 8-11. Number of organizational meetings attended in the past 12 months, by percent.

	MEETINGS ATTENDED IN PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS			
City	None	1-10	11-20	21+
Atlanta	-	39	26	34
Boston	21	37	3	37
Los Angeles	5	55	16	22

As these data suggest, the members we questioned in Atlanta organizations had a somewhat higher attendance record than those of the Boston or Los Angeles organizations.

We also examined the organizational membership and leadership patterns by city. Our findings supported the conclusion that political culture did not influence organizational characteristics. The patterns of leadership were similar in each city.

Table 8-12. Organizational leadership patterns, by city.

	LEADERSHIP PATTERNS					
City	Voluntary	Imposed	Constant	Staff	Imposed-Staff	Constant-Staff
Atlanta	1	1	2	1	-	1
Boston	-	2	-	3	-	-
Los Angeles	1	1	-	2	1	-

Table 8-13. Organizational membership types, by city.

City	Voluntary	Representational	Client
	ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP TYPE		
Atlanta	2	1	3
Boston	-	2	3
Los Angeles	1	3	1

While the distributions of membership and leadership were not uniform among the sites (see Chapter III: Towards a Typology of Organizations, for a fuller discussion), it could not be explained by differences in political culture.

Political Activities of Organization Members

The political activities of organization members should reflect the kind of environmental influence of political culture. The data confirmed city differences; greater activity in Los Angeles, with less in Boston and Atlanta (membership questionnaire, items 37a, b, c).

Table 8-14. Organization members' frequency of contact with city public officials on public issues over previous five years, by city.

	Percent Responding:			
City	Never	1-2	3-4	5+
Atlanta	8	16	25	50
Boston	30	7	15	17
Los Angeles	9	23	14	52

Table 8-15. Number of organization members who have worked for a municipal office candidate, by city.

	Percent responding:			
City	Never	1-2	3-4	5+
Atlanta	21	34	21	21
Boston	60	25	5	10
Los Angeles	26	36	10	36

Table 8-16. Organizations members' frequency of voting in city elections, by city.

	Percent responding:			
City	Never	1-2	3-4	5+
Atlanta	8	4	8	78
Boston	8	11	5	54
Los Angeles	4	9	9	76

The overlap of organization activity with other more direct political action was most pronounced in Los Angeles. It is significant that engagement in electoral politics in Atlanta was high, confirming our analysis of the importance of voting as an element in the city profile. Organization members in Boston were the least likely to vote.

Organizational Networking

The networking research showed some difference in the overall level of contacts of organizations by city. Boston showed the lowest overall level; Los Angeles, the highest. But the differences were not significant. The economic base and strategy of the organization were more influential in its networking pattern than the city in which it functioned.

Table 8-17. Average number of organizational network contacts, by city.

City	Number of Contacts
Atlanta	12
Boston	9
Los Angeles	14

CONCLUSIONS

Our early assumptions concerning the cause and effect relationship between city political culture and the effectiveness of community organizations have not been borne out. School systems and school bureaucracies reflect the overall political styles of their local government. Community organizations, particularly lower-income groups, however, have common interests and behavior that transcend both city culture and regional location.

In the three cities in this research, class is a consistent indicator of political and economic influence. Federal policy in its attempt to intervene and support input by lower-income groups has been the major pervasive influence on the shift in strategies in community organizations from advocacy to service and advisory roles.

Our examination of organizational characteristics - attitude of members toward city and school systems, their political activity, organizational strategy, leadership and organization size - revealed that political culture could explain only minor differences. The more open the political style of the city and the school system the higher the level of participation by organization members. The more open the system, the more unfavorable the perception of its efficacy.

Special note must be given to the role of electoral politics; Atlanta's black population has derived significant benefit from this more conventional road to political power. Atlanta is also the only city in the study in which the majority of the population is black, a fact of no small effect on election outcomes. Electoral gains have not overridden the exigencies of class and race, especially with regard to the distribution of political and economic resources in each city. Electoral gains have nonetheless been substantial in Atlanta. In comparison, Boston has recently elected the first black school committeeman in over 70 years. Los Angeles voters in their most recent election did not return incumbent minority candidates to office.

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IX.

POLITICAL CULTURE: DESEGREGATION CASE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a comparative case study of desegregation completed within the larger study. It is a means of demonstrating some of the major conclusions reached in the research. Although each city's distinctive style of political behavior was evident in its handling of a common problem, there were overrriding elements common to all three cities. In each case the school boards and the bureaucracy exercised power in their inaction and nondecision on this issue. In each city an external force--the courts--was necessary to initiate some plan for desegregation. The limited influence of lower-class and minority groups in all the cities was evident. The substance of the three plans differed, in part because of timing, in part because of political exchange. The political reaction and the process of implementation can be distinguished by the particular political actors and styles in each city. The compromise reached by black and white leadership in Atlanta and the minimal plan adopted can be contrasted to the violent reaction and organized opposition in Boston. The evolutionary plan in Los Angeles reflected the range of committees and participants and the ability of the system to cancel out these influences.

The description of events and the roles of the players identifies the common characteristics across city lines of the role of the community organizations (distinguished by class) and the professionals. Those elements which distinguished the cities from each other suggest differences in political behavior, but only minor influence on the ultimate policy adopted.

School desegregation, as a school policy issue, is a quarter of a century old. A product of the action of the Supreme Court and a major grassroots political movement, it extends beyond the borders of local prerogative. Although the major thrust for action and the legal sanctions which guide it come from the outside, the formulation of plans and their implementation are bound in with local school politics. From that perspective it represents an ideal area for a comparative analysis of the role of citizen organizations in the school policy-making process. By its stated purpose, desegregation, through a redistribution of resources and benefits seeks equity in the school system. The study permits us to see how the widest range of participants play out their respective roles in a situation in which fundamental change is sought. Desegregation can be characterized as the most volatile school policy issue in the history of public education, particularly because it confronts the ideological underpinnings of racism. As Peterson (1976) suggests, this puts it in a special political arena, arousing strong reactions.

For our purposes this range of influences suggested all the more reason to use the issue of desegregation as a study within the study, to test out some of our conclusions regarding the comparative character of school politics and the role and effectiveness of community organizations in the three cities. As a policy issue desegregation was considered of major importance in each city, although it was at a different stage of development in each. It would or should reflect, we assumed, some of the important variables we discussed throughout the study.

The political culture in each of the three cities determined the strength and number of participants. In Atlanta, a relatively closed political system, there were few participants. The most active people were those within the power structure or with direct access to the power structure, e.g., the School Board and the business community. The leaders of the black community, seemingly an influential force, displayed their lack of real power when they accepted an increase in available jobs and positions rather than comprehensive desegregation. In Boston, although the political system did not appear to be as closed as in Atlanta, a small group in effect exercised real power. Effective power lay with the School Committee, which united with city officials and community groups to oppose desegregation. Los Angeles, the most open of the three political systems, encouraged the widest participation in all stages of the desegregation, in the end producing a highly compromised plan.

The differences in political culture in the three cities are evident, as are the distinctions in the roles of the community organizations. The most effective organizations in each city were the middle-to-upper-income groups. They defined desegregation as a major issue and developed strategies for their participation in the decisionmaking. Atlanta had the fewest organizations participating in the process; Boston had more participants, but most of them were only involved in the later period, after the court decision had been rendered. The greatest level of organizational activity in all periods of the process took place in Los Angeles; throughout the process organizations had greater access to the final decisionmakers.

The policy process in desegregation can be divided into three periods. Each city had an interval of time, before the courts' decision, in which to take the initiative to develop its own plan. Following that, with some overlap of activities, there was the period of the court deliberation and action. The final period followed the court decision, and was the period in which a plan was to be implemented. During these three periods, different issues and actors interacted in the policy process. The political pattern in each city was primarily framed by its particular political culture, but also by some broader common influences.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

- All three cities have been involved in desegregation efforts.
- The primary actor in the desegregation process in all three cities is the bureaucracy which resisted the development and implementation of any desegregation plan.
- Middle-to-upper income organizations were able to play a more active role in the development and implementation of the desegregation plans in contrast to lower-income organizations which were generally inactive or ineffective.
- City officials attempted to remove themselves from the desegregation issues and generally did not support desegregation efforts.
- Outside actors such as the Federal court and Federal and State agencies were required to force school systems to desegregate.

PRE-COURT DECISION PERIOD

Atlanta

In the pre-court action period in Atlanta, prior to 1958, the issue was not whether to desegregate but how to avoid acting on the issue of desegregation altogether. Although a few individuals and groups pressed for signs of positive action by powerholders, the powerholders themselves decided--through their inaction--not to actively seek to integrate the Atlanta schools.

Shortly after the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 Brown decision, black parents, with the help of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), began to pressure the Alanta School Board to eliminate its dual system of education. In Georgia, the segregation of education was based on the 1945 revision of the State Constitution, which had continued the legal provision for educating the races through two distinct school systems. In June 1955, nine black parents petitioned the Atlanta School Board to reorganize the school system according to the Brown decision and to hold hearings on this subject. Prior to the petition the board stated that it was not in a position to make or change the law, but only to preserve the system until the conflicts between Federal and State laws were resolved by the proper authorities. In addition, the board referred the matter to a committee. The committee shortly afterwards published a report only hinting at the eventuality of integration (Ecke, 1972).

Georgia's State Legislature, constitutionally responsible for education, sanctioned the inaction of the Atlanta School Board. Until 1961, the State legally supported a segregated school system that operated in direct conflict with the Brown decision. Moreover, the State chose not to formally exercise its authority on the desegregation issue, thus delegating its objective power to the Atlanta School Board. In addition, State government officials did nothing to alleviate the threat of the consequences of the State law which hung over the board. That law stated that any local action to desegregate would enable the State to cut off funds to the local school system and force the schools to close. This position, taken by the State, fueled the determination of the local board to defend itself vigorously against attempts to desegregate and to try all actions to delay desegregation (Ecke, 1972). Allen noted that "almost every leading politician in the South was advocating through massive segregation laws to threaten to close the schools if a single effort was made to integrate them," (Allen, 1971). Black parents presented several more petitions to the board before abandoning this tactic. Each time their petitions were shunted aside for more studies (Ecke, 1972). In January 1958, in the Federal District Court, several black parents, with the help of the NAACP, filed a class-action suit on behalf of all black parents in Atlanta to force the desegregation of Atlanta's school system.

The business community, the most powerful decisionmakers in the city (Hunter, 1953), also remained aloof from the issue. Their inaction, which can be viewed as a "nondecision," guaranteed that no plan would emerge without considerably more pressure than had so far developed. The issue was left to the school board.

The Atlanta School Board, which in its membership reflected the interests of the Atlanta elite, assumed its traditional paternalistic attitude towards the school system, supporting the maintenance of the status quo (Hamilton, 1978). Its response to black demands for integration was to support the bureaucracy, offering only a minimal foot-dragging response to petitions by the black community to desegregate.

In this early period, only the NAACP and one of the six Atlanta organizations included in this study were actively involved. Desegregation was a major goal of the Braves during the pre-court action period. The Braves were involved in advocacy and provided a wide range of services to low-income clients throughout the city. The Braves' efforts were instrumental in the initiation of the original court case in Atlanta and they have played a continuing role in the issue, opposing the compromise plan and supporting the Metro plan, an instrument to merge the Atlanta system with those of its surrounding areas.

In this first period, desegregation activity in Atlanta can be characterized by the decision not to act. All of the major powerholders in the State, city, and the school system were allied in this strategy. The black organizations proved relatively weak in their limited efforts to achieve their goals through petition. The decision to switch to a legal strategy was made by the traditional middle-class black groups.

Boston

In Boston, unlike Atlanta, the constitutional framework of the State did not support segregation; in fact, the State was the catalyst for the abandonment of the separatist school policy in Boston.

In 1844, blacks began petitioning politicians to end the separate school system. When the school committee turned down the request, protest meetings and a school boycott were organized. The boycott of the all-black school, Smith School, continued even after the white administrator was replaced by a black administrator in 1849. In addition, the yearly petitioning began to outline the harm done to white and black children through separate schools. In 1850, the State Supreme Court held that each local school system could decide for itself whether to segregate or not. To place pressure on the Boston School Committee, blacks organized a taxpayers' revolt and began to move their investments and their families out of Boston. In 1854, they peitioned the Legislature; in 1855 the Massachusetts Legislature outlawed segregation.

However, shortly after blacks and abolitionists fought to have school segregation declared illegal, de facto segregation was reimposed and supported by the Boston School Committee. Particularly the Yankee reform of 1905, at-large School Committee elections, created an inbred and insensitive bureaucracy (Lupo, 1977). The school system catered to special interest groups composed of principals, teachers, custodians, and other school employees (Lupo, 1977).

In the early 1960s, blacks and their white allies began to petition the school system for relief. In 1963, black high school and junior high school students boycotted classes for one day to protest segregation. Later that year, Representative Bulling, a black State representative, introduced a bill in the State House to ban State aid from communities with racially imbalanced schools. In 1964, church and civil leaders with school officials from several suburbs organized a larger boycott. Some 14,000 blacks stayed out of Boston's schools and attended Freedom Schools along with 1,000 whites from liberal suburban families.

The situation remained unchanged until 1965, when the Massachusetts Legislature passed the Racial Imbalance Act. The act became the first Massachusetts State law to declare de facto segregation illegal. Segregation in Boston was supported through institutional mechanisms.

Black children followed a 5-3-4 year progression through the different levels of schooling. White children followed a 6-3-3 year pattern, making it virtually impossible for blacks to feed into white schools (and vice versa) without being penalized.

After the passage of the Racial Imbalance Act in 1965, various black groups made initial efforts to desegregate Boston's schools. That year the NAACP filed suit in Federal court claiming that black students were denied equal rights. As a result, Federal agencies began investigating discrimination in Boston's schools (Lupo, 1977). In September 1965, a group of black parents led by Ellen Jackson started Operation Exodus, a movement to voluntarily bus black children into white schools. Beginning with 250 students in 1965, voluntary busing grew to transport 1,100 students in 1970 (Lupo, 1977). These black student transfers were aimed at filling empty seats in white schools. However, white adminstrators in the school department resisted the program. They unscrewed and removed desks from classrooms, locked doors, and physically segregated blacks in separate auditoriums, classrooms and corridors to avoid the integration of black students to white schools (Lupo, 1977). In 1965, the same black community leaders started METCO, a one-way busing of black students to the suburbs. Without the intervention of other actors, the black community was unable to alter the segregated structure of the Boston school system.

Two differences in the early period of desegregation efforts can be observed through comparison of Atlanta and Boston. In Boston, the blacks organized on a grassroots level to try to create voluntary programs that would help to desegregate the system. In Atlanta, a small number of blacks petitioned the board for change. In both cities, they were actively opposed by city and school system powerholders. In Georgia, the State was a legal defender of segregation. In Boston, however, the State played a comparatively active role in attempting to force the local authorities to desegregate the system and thus conform to State law. A report by an advisory committee appointed by the Massachusetts State Board of Education and its commissioner concluded that racial imbalance was educationally harmful and should be eliminated. Significantly, the report concluded that Boston had 45 "imbalanced" (greater than 50 percent nonwhite) schools.

The Boston School Committee's response set a pattern for its subsequent behavior. At first it refused to acknowledge the problem; two months later the superintendent of schools disputed the premise that racial imbalance was educationally harmful. The School Committee used the superintendent's report as support for its inaction in desegregating the system. From 1966 through 1974, the State Board of Education attempted to force the committee to integrate the system. In 1966, the State board proposed changes in the open enrollment plan;

it also voted to withhold State funds from Boston schools until the School Committee filed a revised enrollment plan. The committee's response was to try to compel the release of the State funds and to challenge the constitutionality of the Racial Imbalance Act. Again in 1970 and 1971 the State Board sought to force the committee to modify its open enrollment policy. Each time the committee submitted plans to the State board without modifying open enrollment. Finally, in March of 1974 the State Supreme Court ordered the committee to comply with the State Board of Education's timetable and plan for implementing desegregation.

Among the most powerful actors in the Boston desegregation policy process were the members of the School Committee. The committee had served as an obstacle to desegregation from the very beginning, attempting to thwart the state Board of Education, Federal agencies, and State and Federal court orders to desegregate. Because of its stance no substantial progress was made in desegregating the system until 1974.

The power of the Boston School Committee in the early period was enhanced by support from its own bureaucracy and city officials. That combined resistance to action exceeded the power of the State Board of Education and the black community leaders. The committee maintained sufficient power to sabotage any desegregation activities. Boston appeared to have a more open political system than Atlanta, as shown by the increased numbers of participants in the early stage of the desegregation issue. In fact, however, these participants were as powerless to move the school committee to action as were their counterparts in Atlanta.

Los Angeles

From the very beginning large, well-organized groups were involved in the desegregation struggle in Los Angeles. In 1963 the United Civil Rights Council picketed and demanded restitution from the Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles. The council was a loose coalition of Chicanos and blacks with ties to the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference West. They agitated for an office of urban affairs. After they received this concession they faded from the scene. In the same year the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a suit against the Los Angeles United School District (LAUSD), naming two racially segregated schools. The suit, Mary Ellen Crawford etc., et al. v. Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles (case number 822854 of the Superior Court of California) was amended in 1966 as a class-action suit by the ACLU on behalf of 13 black and 5 Mexican-American students; claiming discrimination against them in the white Los Angeles school system.

From the beginning the Los Angeles School Board displayed a different style from the boards in the other two cities. Demonstrating its greater accessibility, the board appeared to respond to the demands of the various citizens' groups.

Starting in 1963, the board initiated minimal efforts to correct the imbalance found in the LAUSD, and attempted to give the appearance of cooperation in desegregating the system. In 1963, the board adopted an equal educational opportunity statement. The next year it adopted a plan to transport black students from two crowded schools in South Central Los Angeles to Westchester.

In 1965, the Watts riots occurred; in the same year small-scale voluntary busing was begun. The busing involved two groups who were privately financed, Transport A Child and Parents for Better Educational Exchange, and 13 schools. In 1968, the program was expanded to 18 schools. In 1967, the board initiated its own busing program (called APEX) which involved 3 black and 2 white schools. In 1968, the plan was expanded to include over 2,000 more students. In 1969 the board ended its open enrollment policy and stated its priority as improving the racial balance of the system.

During this period minorities protested the conditions in the schools. In November and December 1967, black students organized a walk-out, a sit-in, and a boycott of classes to demand the removal of a white principal. The following year several protests were held. In January, Mexican-American high school students in East Los Angeles presented to local high school principals a list of demands for improvements in Eastside schools. Two months later, the "blowouts" of East Los Angeles occurred. Thousands of students, Chicano and black, organized by community activists, walked out of schools to protest poor conditions. They stated that these conditions caused low student achievement scores, increased dropout rates, and made for overcrowded and rundown school facilities.

In September of that year, the Educational Coordinating Committee (ECC), formed to deal with educational issues affecting Chicanos, held a sit-in at the Los Angeles Board Meeting room.

Thus, in Los Angeles, in the pre-court period of desegregation, the atmosphere appeared to be more receptive to efforts to desegregate. As a result of the protests of the late 1960s, the Los Angeles School Board established the Mexican-American Education Commission, the first of four ethnic commissions in the district. The pattern of events suggested that the board was responding to community pressure. Yet, as in the other two cities, meaningful desegregation did not occur.

THE PERIOD OF THE COURT CASE

The second stage of desegregation policy development can be defined from the point in time of the introduction of a lawsuit through the rendering of a court decision. In each city participants active in the initial years found that their efforts to force the school systems to desegregate were not resulting in balanced systems.

Atlanta

The period of court decisionmaking in Atlanta extends from 1958 to 1974, reflecting new initiatives in response to the changing character of the school system and its student population.

In Atlanta, as in most of the other southern cities, prior to the early 1960s a dual system of public education existed. According to Georgia State law (specifically the 1945 revision of the State Constitution, Article, VIII, section I, paragraph I), a system of common schools based on free tuition and a separation of the races was to be maintained.

In 1958, on behalf of several black parents and children, the NAACP brought suit against the Atlanta school system, charging it with deliberate segregation. The suit, Calhoun v. Latimer, later amended to Calhoun v. Cooke et al., was decided in July 1958. The Federal District Court's ruling enjoined the defendants, the Atlanta School Board, from permitting segregation in the school system and demanded that integration proceed with "all deliberate speed" to achieve full compliance. The specific order of the court to the School Board was to submit a plan by December 1, 1959, providing for a reasonable start to integrating the system. After this order, the court's involvement was minimal until 1974. In 1974, the district court ruled that Atlanta had a unitary system of schooling with a constitutionally approved desegregation plan. Atlanta was thus the only one of the three cities in which the court gave its approval to the status quo.

Dissatisfied with this decision, several citizens' groups continued to press for a desegregated system. Since the demography of the school system had changed from the time at which the first court case was brought, these groups initiated other court cases. In 1960, soon after the court decision was handed down, the white-black ratio in the school system was 55-45. Twelve years later, in 1972, that same ratio was 23-77. Consequently, the focus of the desegregation efforts in Atlanta switched to efforts to prevent resegregation of the system resulting from a lack of white student enrollment in the public schools. These efforts were spearheaded by a NAACP suit against the DeKalb and Fulton County school systems. This was joined in 1972 in the U.S. District Court with an ACLU suit asking for a metropolitan areawide desegregation order either to consolidate the nine school systems in the Atlanta metropolitan area (Atlanta, Marietta, Decatur, Buford, Fulton, DeKalb, Cobb, Clayton and Gwinnett Counties) or to operate them jointly. At the same time, some of the black leaders* raised the complementary issues of improving the quality of education within Atlanta schools, encouraging whites to return to Atlanta, and consolidating black power within the school system. These leaders expressed the fear that the

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*Names cannot be given as data came from confidential interview.

Metro case, which could be the instrument to merge the Atlanta system with those of its surrounding counties, would serve to dilute the power the blacks held within the system by virtue of their majority status.

The black leaders, who had historically compromised with the white power elite, responded in a typical manner. Rather than pressing for desegregation through court decisions, many black leaders in effect weakened the power of the court cases because of their fear of losing their own power once the system was desegregated.

This stage of desegregation policymaking demonstrated the lack of power of the black participants. The court's action slowed desegregation policy to a minimal pace as most of its decisions were weakened by qualifiers. In 1958, in adjudicating the case Calhoun v. Latimer, the court decided that Atlanta's dual system was unconstitutional. It ordered the Atlanta School Board to design a desegregation plan. The strength of this decision was diluted through two simultaneous allowances: postponing implementation of the decision from 1960 to 1961; and allowing the school system to implement a gradual plan for desegregation. Although the plantiffs in the original case began almost immediately to press the court to hasten the desegregation plan, the court did not respond until 1965. At that time, the court decreed that implementation of the original plan required completion. In the 1970s, the court took a slightly more active role, providing through hearings a forum to air the issues. In its more recent actions the court dismissed all but three defendants in the Atlanta metropolitan area desegregation case (leaving only Atlanta, Fulton County and DeKalb County). The decision was seen as further encouragement to those who opposed metropolitanization as a means of desegregation. On the whole, over the last twenty years any forceful position that the court took to aid desegregation has been mitigated through subsequent decisions.

Boston

In Boston, unlike in Atlanta, governmental agencies at both the Federal and State levels participated in the desegregation process. Most of the time they played a dominant and forceful role in advancing desegregation.

In November 1971 and in June 1972, the Office of Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, along with the National Science Foundation (NSF) and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, attempted to secure Boston's compliance with the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964. Hearings were held regarding the Boston School Committee's actions.

At the same time that Federal agencies were holding hearings, both Federal and State courts were drawn into the conflict. In December 1972 the Superior Court of Massachusetts ruled that the State Board of Education could no longer withhold State monies from the Boston School Committee; the committee was in literal though minimal compliance with

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the law. In 1973, the State Superior Court rejected the School Committee's challenge to the State Board of Education's plan for racial balance. The court noted the committee's inaction since the court decision of the previous winter and informed it that the time for testing the statute had passed. The State court continued its involvement with the committee's actions. In July 1973, November 1973, January 1974, and March 1974, the court found the committee in noncompliance with the State board and with the court orders to implement the racial balance plan. All this activity culminated in several findings against the School Committee. In April 1974, the State Superior Court ordered the committee to comply with the Massachusetts Board of Education's racial balance plan. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's final reviewing authority, in concurrence with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, found the Boston School Committee guilty of de jure segregation. They proceeded to withhold Federal aid from the Boston schools as a result of this violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Superior Court also affirmed the findings of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination (MCAD). In June 1971, MCAD, composed of three commissioners with the power to investigate charges of discrimination, found that the open enrollment policy of the Boston school system was administered on a discriminatory basis. In March 1972, the NAACP brought a class action suit against the Boston School Committee and the State Board of Education. Finally, in June 1974, in that case (Tallulah Morgan et al. v. James W. Hennigan), the U.S. District Court with Judge Arthur Garrity, Jr. presiding, decided that "The evidence established that the school authorities had knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers, and school facilities and had intentionally brought about and maintained a dual school system..."

The court permanently enjoined the School Committee from discriminating on the basis of race and ordered them to formulate and implement plans to secure the constitutional rights of black children and their parents (Morgan et al. v. Hennigan, 1974). Before Judge Garrity's decision was made, opposition arose to desegregating the schools. Groups threatened boycotts, to establish alternative schools and to keep their children out of schools, in defiance of reassignment. Governor Sargent proposed replacing the mandatory racial imbalance law with a voluntary busing plan in Boston and Springfield. After Garrity's decision, Sargent vowed to support the court order and acknowledged that voluntary busing was a dead issue (Boston Globe, June 23, 1974). Regarding the protests, Judge Garrity advised that only a successful appeal of his decision or a constitutional amendment could reverse his June 1974 ruling (Boston Globe, October 13, 1974).

Los Angeles

In Los Angeles, it was not necessary for the court to assume such a pervasive role as it had in Boston in order to counteract the Los Angeles Board of Education's behavior. In 1969, at the same time that the board was making cosmetic efforts to end segregation, the desegregation case that had come to trial in 1968, ended. The State court rendered a decision in February 1970, directing the board to have an integration plan in operation by September 1970.

In March 1975, the Court of Appeals reversed the lower court decision. Three month later, however, the California Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. In June 1976, the Supreme Court ruled against the board and ordered it to prepare a desegregation plan.

The court, after a full-scale trial, decided that segregation was illegal, regardless of cause. The California case, based on Judge Gitelson's ruling in the lower court, Crawford v. the Board of Education of Los Angeles, determined that Los Angeles was at fault for doing nothing to improve racial balance in the system. It had not, for example, rearranged attendance district boundaries. No deliberate acts of de jure segregation were claimed against Los Angeles in the trial (Los Angeles Times, April 4, 1976).

In this case, the State Supreme Court decided that the Los Angeles Board of Education had an obligation to end the deliberate segregation of its school system and do what it could to counter the effects of racial isolation, no matter what its cause.

THE PERIOD AFTER THE COURT CASE

In each of the three cities, efforts to force the school system to desegregate resulted in a court case. For each city, a crucial time came after the intervention of the courts, when the school systems were forced to develop and implement plans to end segregation. Here again political culture was reflected in which actors participated, and in how much of an impact they were able to make.

Atlanta

In Atlanta, the post-court period reflected the closed nature of the political system. Participants were few and most were powerless to effect change.

The black community throughout the entire desegregation process was represented by the NAACP and, in a more limited way, by the Urban League.* Both pushed for integration and ignored the issue of improving the quality of the schools. The roles they played were conditioned by the nature of the black community and its leadership. This leadership was described by a local observer as the fulfillment of the "Eleventh Commandment - Do not criticize the power elite and its actions."

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*Some observers remarked that the Urban League did not play an influential role.

After the court's decision, the NAACP represented by its president, Lonnie King, and the Board of Education proceeded to draft a compromise desegregation plan. He drew up a plan involving extensive busing, and used that plan as a weapon against the white power structure, demanding other concessions from its members. In the words of another black leader, the plan was "made as wild as possible," and intended as a threat through which to win jobs for certain blacks. The black parents who brought the original suit agreed to withdraw it. Allegations were made that the president of the NAACP personally benefited from the compromise made with the Atlanta business elite. Some blacks attributed the compromise to pressure placed on the black participants by school board lawyers. The NAACP national office obviously felt differently: It repuditated the plan because from its point of view it abandoned the goal of complete desegregation; this office suspended the local chapter for more than a month. It was only reinstated after it held elections and voted out of office those officials responsible for the "sellout." After the desegregation compromise of 1973, the NAACP and the Urban League became less involved in school issues.

The Atlanta business community was the main political force in the desegregation issue. Traditionally, men active in the business community dominated the Atlanta Board of Education. This business elite, composed of a small group of well-to-do white business men who held political and economic power, strove to create an image of Atlanta as a city in racial harmony (Allen, 1971). These powerholders successfully maintained this image. They held extensive meetings between white and black business leaders. Middle-class blacks were diffused into traditional white business and civic groups (Allen, 1971) , and the pressure on those leaders to support integrated quality education for blacks was lessened. They encouraged a slow, partial, desegregation of Atlanta schools in order to prevent the flight of white-owned business from the city. The business community was successful in imposing its goals on the city through its influence with the school board and the superintendent. This latter worked in close harmony with the board, serving to satisfy its wishes. The push was for a "minimal amount" of desegregation that would not destroy the image of Atlanta as a city of racial harmony. City officials supported the efforts of the board to arrive at a compromise. Atlanta was the only city among the three not to develop a strong opposition group to desegregation.

In Atlanta, desegregation policy had only a minimal component of educational reform. The Atlanta plan was strictly concerned with ending the existence of all-white schools. The revised plan, the "Compromise Plan of 1973," had four components. Administrative desegregation, though not part of the original court order, was included in the Compromise Plan. This was achieved by creating, with board approval, 37 administrative appointments. Other parts of the Compromise Plan followed similar lines, seeking only minimal structural changes in the school system.

An integral component of the Compromise Plan was staff desegregation.

The goal was to seek a racial balance, within 10 percent of the systemwide racial composition, at each school. This balance would be achieved through assignment of new personnel, assignment of personnel returning from maternity leave, reassignment of surplus and displaced personnel, reassignment of personnel from closed schools, and, finally, through involuntary transfer.

Desegregation of the student body, one of the vital elements in the plan, would be accomplished through school closings, pairing of schools in joining zones, redrawing of zone lines, and transportation of students. The plan for student desegregation was not complete. The number of students in desegregated schools would increase from 27,239 to 38,718 with 59,000 students, mostly black, still in segregated schools (Research Atlanta, 1973). Desegregated schools would increase from 47 to 64, with 83 remaining black (Research Atlanta, 1973). This was a change from 86 segregated black schools and 20 segregated white schools--with "segregated" being defined as "greater than 90 percent of one race in a school." In addition, the majority-to-minority transfer plan of the 1970 desegregation agreement was expanded slightly.

Most important, the Compromise Plan of 1973 was designed to be monitored for compliance by only one group, the Biracial Committee established in 1970. The court instructed the committee to conduct at a minimum four meetings a year to hear complaints and ensure compliance with the plan. Atlanta had only one monitoring group; the other two cities had several. Moreover, Atlanta's monitoring group only fulfilled part of the function served by the courts in the other cities. Only when committee hearings failed to resolve a problem were the Atlanta participants instructed to resort to court hearings.

Since the school board had played a major role in drafting the Compromise Plan of 1973, they responded favorably to it and began to implement part of it. By 1974 there were no segregated white schools left, and administrative desegregation had begun. The strategy of the white business elite was to protect the schools of the white Northside area and maintain stability for business development. In order to protect white investment, the Atlanta Board of Education substituted a less threatening administrative desegregation for the more threatening classroom integration. Thus administrative desegregation, not required by the court order, was extensive. Some 37 new positions were created, many of them to be filled by blacks; in addition, the board promised to hire a black superintendent. In exchange student integration would be partial. In this final stage of the desegregation effort, two of the six Atlanta organizations in the study were active.

Throughout the process the Braves maintained ties with the NAACP, the ACLU, and the Metro Summit Leadership Conference, this last an organization of black business leaders acting as a counterpart to the white power elite. With these groups, the Braves continued to support legal efforts to desegregate the school system through the Metro case. Moreover the organization was the primary group to continue protestation against the board's minimal efforts to desegregate. Led by its middle-class white and black leadership, it continued from the late 1960s through the 1970s to hold protests, marches and rallies for desegregation. In the third period of this process, it was the only group of importance actively working to desegregate the school system.

The only other community organization active in the third period had a focus different than that of the Braves. The Peachtrees, a white middle-to-upper-income neighborhood group, focused on the needs of the white community through advocacy of school issues. Rather than aiming to effect total desegregation, the group focused on preventing white flight. Its activities revolved around improving the quality of neighborhood schools in order to attract middle-class whites back to the city. The middle-class structure of the organization allowed it to be more effective in implementing its programs than the Braves. It was in direct contact with the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Education and the media. Decisionmakers in these elements viewed the Peachtrees as the only successful community organization in the city (see Chapter VI: Organizations and Policy Goals).

Boston

Boston, in the implementation stage, evidenced a higher level of citizen involvement because of the scope of the court-mandated plan. The court itself structured participation. The busing component met with a strong response from opponents, spearheaded by the Restore Our Alienated Rights group (ROAR), which capitalized on the hostility between class and ethnic groups in Boston. Created by Louise Day Hicks, a councilperson and former school committee member, ROAR was composed of lower-income and working-class white ethnics, many of whom also were active in Democratic party politics, Home and School Association chapters, and members of the city government (Hillson, 1977).

ROAR organized the South Boston Information Center, one of several storefront organizations serving as focal points for solidarity and organization of the opposition and as centers for propaganda and agitation. The group mobilized the hostile elements towards busing, it broke up meetings called to support desegregation, and organized the attacks on the black students and other blacks who ventured into or near South Boston. As an opposition group, ROAR was significant: many of its members were permanent community leaders and its strategy openly included violence. Thus its impact on the implementation phase of desegregation policy was extensive.

ROAR was able to effectively sabotage aspects of the plan, specifically by not participating in the Racial Ethnic Parent Councils (REPC's) and the Citywide Parent Advisory Council (CPAC) and by helping to create a divisive atmosphere (Boston Globe, October 6, 1974). In recent years some observers concluded that ROAR was not so effective as previously thought. Internal splits over tactics, politics and philosophy, it is said, diminished its strength (Lupo, 1977).

Boston City officials also played a role in this period. Mayor Kevin White publicly removed himself from the conflict, and refused to assume a leadership role. He supported a media campaign urging the city to stay calm. Some observers interpreted the neutral role of the mayor as an abdictation of his law enforcement responsibilities (Hillson, 1977). In fact, Boston, was the only city of the three in which city officials did not openly support desegregation; it was the only city where violence was acute.

Members of ROAR, the city council, and Boston School Committee exerted great pressure on the mayor. It was reinforced by the close working relationship between Boston's City Hall and the school department (Boston Globe, 1974). The majority of the city council members opposed the court decision and joined forces with ROAR.

State officials supported desegregation but were relatively powerless in the implementation of the plan. In June 1974, the state of Massachusetts, removed the "clout" from the Racial Imbalance Act by eliminating the State Board of Education's power to redistrict and order busing. Instead magnet schools and monetary incentives were established for schools which accepted black students (Lupo, 1977).

A key participant in the implementation of the plan was Judge Arthur Garrity, of the U.S. Federal District Court. From the time he rendered his decision in 1974 to date, Judge Garrity has been involved with each phase of the process. He established monitoring vehicles to oversee the progress in the school system, and held a series of hearings to ensure that desegregation was carried out. Judge Garrity was the most visible and powerful figure in effecting change in the Boston school system. At first he assumed a more passive role than that assumed by Judge Doyle in Denver (Boston Globe, 1974). Subsequently, unlike Judge Doyle, Judge Garrity left the burden of implementing desegregation to "ill-equipped city officials" (Boston Globe, October 13, 1974). In Denver, the judge restricted or prevented the opposition from marching and hindering implementation of the plan; in Boston, Judge Garrity was less willing to suppress the opposition.

Judge Garrity's major opposition came from the local school officials. The Boston Teachers' Union (BTU), an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, had an official overall policy to support integration. In practice, however, the union opposed both the State's Racial Imbalance Act as educationally disruptive, and also Judge Garrity's orders on desegregation in student assignment and teacher hiring (Hillson, 1977). The union's position was tacitly supported by the other AFL-CIO affiliates in Boston. The National Education Association, which did not have a local chapter in Boston, supported desegregation.

Boston's desegregation plan was more extensive than those of Los Angeles and Atlanta. The plan issued by Judge Garrity, based on the racial balance plan of the State Board of Education, enlarged by his court-appointed experts, with some input from the School Committee and community organizations called for integration with quality education in Boston. The plan consisted of two phases to be implemented in various stages over a period of two years.

Phase I was intended as a temporary measure. It ordered the school committee to comply with the 1965 Racial Imbalance Act; provided for integration of 80 out of 200 schools through busing; and established monitoring mechanisms. Specifically, the judge created the Racial-Ethnic Parent Councils (REPC's) for each school and also the Citywide Parent Advisory Council (CPAC). The REPC's were intended to promote dialogue among racial groups at the newly desegregated schools and to help minimize racial difficulties. They were also directed to engage in observation of schools, to give information to parents, to help prepare the annual desegregation progress report, to review promotional ratings, and to develop grant applications. The CPAC was created for the purpose of supporting and assisting the REPC's throughout the city. It was set up as an all-parent council with representatives from each REPC.

Phase II was the permanent plan to remedy the violations cited in the court case. It contained several elements. Standards for student transfers were carefully defined. Citywide magnet schools with special enrichment programs were established. Metro universities, businesses and cultural institutions were paired with schools in each of the nine new school districts. Phase II also extended the monitoring system to include the Citywide Coordinating Council (CCC).

The CCC was composed of 42 members appointed by the court to monitor implementation. It was designed as a "blue ribbon" commission to function as the "eyes and ears and strong right arm" of the Federal court (Wolfe, 1978). Because members represented the entire spectrum of opinion on the desegregation issue, the council, although highly visible, was so severely divided as to become ineffective. The antibusing partisans appointed for balance intimidated the moderates. In its second year, the CCC was reduced to a 15-member court-appointed body of parents and representatives from business, education, the community and civic groups. It was primarily responsible for monitoring desegregation for the Federal court, and functioned as an important information conduit to and from the judge (Wolfe, 1978). The CCC was terminated by the court in 1978 because other agencies were able to carry on its functions, and the CCC's funds were "needed more urgently elsewhere," (Court order, 1978).

Phase II also contained provisions for school security services and desegregation of administration and staff. Throughout Phase II, Judge Garrity attempted to involve parents in the implementation and monitoring of desegregation.

The school system responded in a fairly consistent negative fashion to each of the changes. The School Committee only acted when ordered to do so. Its behavior was minimal and slow. On transfers, the School Committee refused to approve transfers in over 75 percent of the cases. New school principals were appointed on a desegregated basis but disputes prevented desegregation in the central administration. None of the other provisions (including bilingual education, construction of new facilities, vocational education, provision to meet special needs of handicapped children, student government, the discipline code, pairings and parent participation mechanisms) were implemented in compliance with the court order.

The political climate in Boston encouraged some participation of black organizations, but their impact was negligible. In winter 1974, several organizations became involved in the desegregation process. They worked on student assignments, busing, and the achievement of quality education. The NAACP and Freedom House (a black middle-class organization), both active for years in promoting integration, were called upon to assist.

In our study, the Yankees were formed to improve the Boston school system. They moved naturally into the racial-balance issue (Boston Globe, 1974). Together with the NAACP and Freedom House, the Institute on Schools and Education (developed and funded by Freedom House) provided information, manned rumor-control centers, supplied monitors and observers in the schools and helped parents and students with specific problems. These three organizations, all probusing, tried to ease the tensions through meetings and forums.

The Yankees were involved with drafting plans and overseeing the reorganization of the Boston School Department. The organization maintained frequent and direct contact with Judge Garrity, the School Committee, the Board of Education, the media and the business community. (see the membership and leadership questionnaires in Appendix E: Questionnaire Data). The organization gave strong vocal support to integration. It attacked President Ford's statement against busing and the Boston court decision as a "scandalous dereliction of duty" and criticized the School Committee for "fanning the flames of hatred and resistance," (Boston Globe, October 13, 1974).

Freedom House, in addition to the Yankees and the NAACP, was an important probusing group.* Ruth Batson and Otto Snowden, leaders of Freedom House, formed an all-black committee in October 1974 to consider and coordinate all future prointegration parades and rallies (Boston Globe, 1974). Ellen Jackson, another Freedom House leader, helped to form the Institute on Schools and Education. The institute, funded by Freedom House, relied on its full-time staff of five to carry out its activities. It manned phones at a rumor-control center, distributed brochures, and supplied volunteer monitors for buses, bus stops, and schools, made direct recommendations to Judge Garrity, and also worked with the Roxbury Multi-Service Center and the Lena Park Community Development Corporation to hold probusing rallies at the State House and on Boston Common. Out of the institute came the Coordinated Social Services Council, a body of 20 State and city agencies. Although established to refer clients to appropriate agencies, some observers felt it functioned as Judge Garrity's eyes and ears "as the image of the highly touted but ineffectual CCC wore thin." (Hillson, 1977).

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*Freedom House declined to participate as one of the organizations in this study.

The NAACP and the Yankees had limited roles. The NAACP, with over 3,000 Boston members, was an organization of paper memberships. It used its funds for a wide variety of activities (Boston Globe, October 13, 1974). The Yankees with over 3,700 non-dues-paying members, also had an inactive membership. Because of their status as a non-dues-paying organization, they had only limited funds to commit to desegregation.

Many voluntary groups worked on the desegration issue. Racial Harmony Now was a Dorchester parents group organized in fall 1974 to deal specifically with integration. The Archdiocese Human Rights Commission supplied volunteer monitors for the schools. The Massachusetts Council of Churches and the Ministerial Alliance did the same. The Educational Task Force in Roxbury and the Citizens For Participation in Political Action distributed leaflets for racial peace under the name of the Committee for Unity and Equality. The Black Educators' Alliance contributed to the integration process through recruitment of black teachers.

The Massachusetts Advocacy Center provided two services. It created programs in schools to cope with adjustment problems; and it provided documentation of discrimination to the court. It showed that Puerto Ricans in Boston seldom graduated from high school, that blacks had a higher suspension rate, and class and race discrimination existed.

The Justice Department, through its community relations office, eventually also involved itself with the desegregation issue in Boston. The 11-member office formed a team of observers and advisors to help Judge Garrity implement the busing plan, and to help monitor the process of integration and relay reports to Washington, D.C. (Boston Globe, 1974).

Despite all this activity, the authoritarian style of the School Committee allowed it to retain sufficient control to thwart and delay efforts to implement desegregation. Only the coalition of participants of the black community, the State, the Federal government, and the U.S. Federal District Court overcame the committee's resistance to desegregation

Los Angeles

During the final stage of desegregation, Los Angeles continued to encourage many community groups which participated in the integration process. An observer of the school system noted that the pattern of behavior in the Los Angeles bureauacracy is to assemble people with varying viewpoints to explore issues, even though meaningful participation is not actually desired. The competinq values, ideals, and fashions assure that the resulting report or action will be bland and weak and that little change will result.

In the final stage of action the Los Angeles Board of Education, the bureaucracy, and the superintendent (as in the other two cities) were key participants. In Los Angeles, the board did not have a consensus on the desegregation issue; it did, however, make a constructive effort to move toward a workable plan. From the beginning it lent verbal support to desegregation. It interacted with a wide spectrum of community groups to develop a policy. Only one board member, the only black member, favored complete desegregation of the school system.

The board's president was a key actor in the implementation phase. He played an active leadership role, helped to design the desegregation plan, obtained support for the plan from four of the six board members, explained the plan to the media, and was involved directly with implementation and defense of the plan. Through his efforts, he rallied the support of the superintendent and others for the plan. Johnston, the superintendent, called him the "catalyst who brought the five votes together...and held that coalition together..." (Los Angeles Times, May 28, 1978).

The superintendent was active in formulating some educational policies. In 1972, he proposed a five-year plan. The plan was an outgrowth of the 1971 State legislation requiring school systems to search for ways to promote integration. The superintendent's plan, however, emphasized multicultural experiences, not integration. The focus was on bringing children of different ethnic backgrounds periodically together during each school year for school work or social experiences. Specifically the plan called for busing a limited number of 4th through 6th graders for part of each day for 12 or 13 weeks. The court subsequently rejected these moves as an unsuitable desegregation plan. The superintendent exhibited his reluctance to work for meaningful integration when, backed by his staff and some board members, he reintroduced the concept of part-time integrated "learning centers" as a replacement for the mandatory pairing and clustering plan.

His "new" plan favored magnet schools, an expanded Permit-with-Transportation Program (PWT-- which bused minority students to predominantly white schools) and spending money to improve racially isolated schools. The superintendent defended this plan as a means of reducing white flight, a more important concern to him than eliminating racially isolated schools. By summer 1978, he was unable to secure a majority of board members to back his programs.

The United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA), the teachers' union, maintained ties to the superintendent. Opposition groups within the union took a strong position against faculty desegregation. This forced the UTLA to retreat somewhat from its position of support for the moderate integration plan, a maneuver which caused them loss of influence with the board. City officials, although for the most part supportive of desegregation efforts, played a minimal role in the process. Mayor Bradley did not take a position on desegregation except to help ensure peaceful implementation of the court-approved plan. State officials played a more active role. Although while the court case was being appealed there was an absence of State policy, at other times the State attempted to develop a framework for local school-district action. In 1973, the State Board of Education gave the go-ahead to local districts to develop plans for limited desegregation activities. It was an important signal to local school districts to take whatever steps they could until the court ruled on the California State antibusing amendment.

In 1975, the California Supreme Court overturned the antibusing amendment. In repealing the amendment, the court weakened the rule of the State Board of Education. It did this by letting the repeal of the Bagley Act stand. This act had given the State a mandate to establish procedures to study integration and standards of operating and reporting for local districts. It was thought of as an indication that State officials responsible for education believed desegregation important for equality of educational opportunity (Los Angeles Times, January 20, 1975). The court action left the State government without any desegregation mechanisms.

The court was also an active participant. Judge Egly of the Superior State Court presided over the attempts to create a workable plan for desegregation. He appointed a court referee, Monroe Price, a law professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, to assist him. In addition, he appointed eight experts to analyze the board's proposal and answer questions for him. The experts, appointed as individual witnesses, gave separate reports to the court. Judge Egly also established a monitoring committee to oversee desegregation, but several factors reduced its effectiveness. The order guiding the committee was noticeably vague; the committee itself did not have the time to develop its scope, purposes, and agenda. Further, the committee's chain of authority and communication was unclear; guidelines were lacking which would separate the committee from other court-appointed structures and persons, such as the court-appointed referee. Moreover, the committee was not class, racially or ethnically balanced. Objections to the judge went unheard.

Judge Egly functioned as a referee between the Los Angeles Board of Education and the various organizations participating in creating a desegregation plan. Anticipating the Supreme Court ruling, the board created the Citizens Advisory Committee on Student Integration (CACSI).

It was charged with producing a plan for desegregating the student population which would respond to the decision of the California Supreme Court under the State's Racial Imbalance Act. The committee enjoyed the support of the superintendent, used a staff person appointed by the district and employed the Rand Corporation for technical assistance. The committee's 114 members were appointed by the boards of the various organizations to be represented on the new committee. CACSI's assignment was to spend from April 1976 to June 1977 developing an integration plan, with provisions for monitoring, to be presented to the board. The committee, thus representing the diverse views held by Los Angeles' citizen groups and other populations, drew up a plan calling for massive busing. This was rejected by a majority of the members of the Los Angeles Board of Education.

The board also created a Student Integration Resource Office (SIRO) to assist it in desegregation.

Even the resolution of the court case followed the Los Angeles style of politics. More organizations were involved in the case than had been in Atlanta or Boston. Among the plaintiffs were the ACLU, the NAACP, and the Los Angeles Center for Law and Justice. The center, a largely Hispanic organization was a public-interest law firm with ties to one of the four intervenors in the case, Project Integration. Project Integration was a loosely structured, multiethnic, middle-class organization. Its members were mainly teachers and parents, organized around the notion that the solution to desegregation could come only through a triethnic mixing.

Better Education for Students Today (BEST), also an intervenor, was a loose coalition of white leaders coming from the West Side and the San Fernando Valley. The most moderate organization among the intervenors, it aimed for a reasonable solution, one that considered the geography of Los Angeles. The third intervenor was the Citizens Advisory Committee on Student Integration (CACSI). As noted above, CACSI had also been involved in the initial development of the integration proposal.

The final intervenor was BUSTOP, which represented those Los Angeles citizens opposed to integration. BUSTOP as an opposition group was structured along different lines than similar groups in Boston. A well-organized, sophisticated group, it claimed that it was for desegregation but along voluntary lines. It did not create the same divisiveness that ROAR did in Boston. As a middle-to-upper-income group, BUSTOP used traditional organizational methods to oppose any form of mandatory desegregation. It disseminated information, acted as an intervenor in the lawsuits, made media contacts, sat on committees appointed by the Board of Education and maintained direct contact with decisionmakers. BUSTOP also differed from ROAR in that one of its goals was an opposition to any and all forms of violence in desegregation.

Criticism of the plan from the black community was muted. However, one black leader noted, "Nonopposition should not be considered as enthusiastic endorsement. I think the black leadership can best be described as operating in a holding pattern at this point, awaiting final action by the court in this matter." (John Mack, Los Angeles Times, May 28, 1978.)

The Council for Peace and Equality in Education epitomized organizational activity on the desegregation issue. It was the best credentialed, best financed group in Los Angeles. The group, with its 80-member board of directors, accomplished some of its objectives. One, to disseminate information though materials, speakers and a rumor-control center, was partly met through the dissemination of written materials. The rumor control effort was taken over by the school district (Los Angeles Times, September 10, 1978).

The Los Angeles court-ordered desegregation plan followed much the same pattern as did the Boston plan. It required busing to end racially isolated schools, and also means to improve the quality of education in the LAUSD. The plan was the compromise output of several groups, with the court playing a minor role in determining the actual details. The Los Angeles board then devised a plan which, in a minimal way, met the court's standards. This involved desegregating 50 minority elementary schools and 6 junior high schools. The board chose to concentrate on quality education through techniques such as more extensive preschool education, year-round schools, aggressive recruitment of better skilled teachers for schools with minority enrollments, upgrading facilities, and eliminating overcrowding at minority schools.

The plan relied on the voluntary efforts of parent groups. The emphasis was on pairs and clusters of groupings of schools, shaped by the local school community as an alternative to mandatory assignments by district staff. It integrated a limited number of pupils in the 4th to 8th grades--72,00 out of 570,000--and continued the Permit-with-Transportation program (PWT) which bused 18,000 minority youth voluntarily to predominantly white schools. The PWT program evolved into the voluntary busing component of the integration plan. Originally a program to bus students out of earthquake-prone schools, it became a busing program run by LAUSD, complete with regulations to enhance integration. The integration plan defined segregated schools as those with 70 percent or greater enrollment of minority students.

The board plan allowed voluntary desegregation in all grades, with magnet schools and special studies to improve the quality of education. All schools were grouped into leagues to be reassigned if the voluntary programs failed. A total of 84 schools voluntarily paired together, 48 schools sought integrated matchups within one of five "educational leagues." Only 38 schools had to be mandatorily assigned (Los Angeles Times, May 28, 1978).

Judge Egly based his acceptance of this plan on the decision in the Crawford case. In this case, the High Court ruling declared "[the board is permitted to solve its own segregation problems] so long as [it] initiates and implements reasonably feasible steps to alleviate school segregation in its district and so long as such steps produce a meaningful progress in the alleviation of such segregation..." (Los Angeles Times, January 4, 1978). But he did not declare the step unconstitutional. Since it failed to reach 204 minority segregated schools and 261,000 students, he asked his eight experts to show him how to increase the number of minority segregated schools. The judge felt it was important to get some desegregation plan underway as soon as possible. He would strengthen the plan through recommendations made to the court by the desegregation experts. Judge Egly stated that he wanted to avoid appeals and subsequent delays (Los Angeles Times, February 9, 1978). He accomplished this by not giving a final ruling on the plan and by retaining jurisdiction over the case. After the plan was approved, some observers remarked that while the struggle between the judge and the School Board was called by some a war of attrition, important changes in the plan would now be made by the judge and not the board (Los Angeles Times, February 9, 1978).

Although the plaintiffs and Project Integration were unhappy with Judge Egly's ruling, the board president and superintendent supported it, as did BEST and CACSI. This support ensured that the board's plan would be carried out.

In Los Angeles, school board compliance on the surface followed the desegregation plan. Since the desegregation plan was drafted by the board and received the support of its president and of the superintendent, it was carried out with little resistance. The difficulty in Los Angeles arose on the issue of extending the plan: the board blocked efforts to expand the scope of the program.

In Los Angeles, throughout this period, loose coalitions of groups continued to organize protests or assist in the implementation process. The groups active in previous stages continued to be active throughout the duration of the court case, during protests, and during implementation of the plan. In 1977, 65,000 students stayed away from schools to protest busing. Freedom marchers, backed by the NAACP, held several rallies to support desegregation of the schools.

At the same time the Chicano population continued to protest the poor quality of education through walkouts. To the Spanish-speaking people, integration was not as important as quality education, which was viewed as a means to strengthen and renew the Latin community's cultural distinctiveness (Los Angeles Times, April 4, 1976). According to the Times Article, this community was wary of integration for fear of losing the gains of bilingual education programs within the regular curriculum, and of losing the increasing contact with Spanish-surnamed teachers, and CAC meetings held in Spanish.

The Dodgers also expressed concerns about the LAUSD integration plan. The organization's leaders did not want the organization to become involved with pairing, clustering or mandatory assignments. The organization's leaders felt any such change would detract substantially from the education program the organization offered. It was feared that the pairing or clustering schemes would reduce the ESEA Title I monies the organization received thus having a deleterious effect on the Title I Program already operating. Moreover, the students in the program might also be forced to switch reading programs if transferred and would probably suffer from the lack of continuity in methods in reading instruction. For these reasons the Dodgers expressed reservations about integration.

The Margaritas were also somewhat active in this period. They agitated for magnet schools, were active in establishing their own ad hoc monitoring group, had representatives on CACSI, and pushed for ethnic appointments within the administrative ranks. As an organization created and financed by the Los Angeles Board they were seen as an in-house operation. This status provided them with potential access to powerholders. However, because they were created by governmental agencies to serve governmental purposes, their effectiveness was muted.

The Venturas, a white middle-income-group, were active during this stage. They supported peaceful implementation of the LAUSD plan, had members appointed to Egly's monitoring committee, CACSI, and submitted recommendations to the board. Moreover, they were in contact with key decisionmakers and community groups such as the ACLU, the Urban League, BEST, BUSTOP, and the Los Angeles Board.

OUR ORGANIZATIONS' INVOLVEMENT IN DESEGREGATION

In each of the three sites, the site coordinators and their staffs determined that desegregation was a major issue for the community organizations in the study. The 16 organizations were studied to determine the extent of their involvement in the desegregation issue--which all viewed as important.

Atlanta

Both the Braves and the Peachtrees were participants in the desegregation process. The Braves were active from the beginning through their protests and their involvement in the court cases. They were the only organization actively working for total desegregation in the schools. The Peachtrees, a recent participant in the process, did not seek complete integration of the system but aimed to preserve part of it to protect the white middle-class vested interests. Their immediate goal was to halt white flight. The other organizations in Atlanta, the Falcons, the Omnis, the Magnolias and the Grits were not active in the process. These organizations did not consider desegregation a major goal and they did not engage in any activities to promote integration in the schools.

Boston

In Boston, the Yankees were active in the last stage of the desegregation process. They were involved in the implementation and monitoring aspects of the process.

The other organizations in the study were active in selected aspects of the court order. Of the other organizations, two (the Patriots and the Commons) did not consider desegregation as a goal or issue of importance. They interacted with the court-mandated groups on issues of concern to their organization--bilingual education, special education, bus safety, and transportation. The Celtics considered desegregation as one of their goals, yet did not engage in any activities to promote it. They did, however, maintain contact with other active groups, such as Freedom House and its affiliate, the Coordinating Social Service Council.

Los Angeles

The Los Angeles organizations in our study were more deeply involved in desegregation than the organizations in the other two cities. The Dodgers, the Margaritas and the Venturas were all involved in one way or another during the final stages of the process. The Lakers considered desegregation an important issue to their organization. The Celtics did also but, neither the Celtics nor the Lakers engaged in any activities to promote it. The Lakers did, however, maintain contact with the NAACP.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE THREE CITIES THROUGH THEIR MAIN ACTORS

Organizational Involvement

As was predicted, the involvement of organizations in the process reflected the political culture of each city. In Atlanta only two organizations were prominent in working toward desegregation, the NAACP and the Braves. While Atlanta did not have a community organization opposing the plan, as was the case in the other cities, it did have a strong middle-class organization working to protect the interests of the white middle-class community. The absence of an opposition group, the existence of the Peachtrees, and the collapse of the NAACP opposition all emphasized the relationship between the Atlanta Board of Education and the city's business elite, a relationship absent in the other cities. Neither Boston nor Los Angeles showed as tight a power structure as Atlanta did. Both cities had many more organizations participating in the process, as well as strong opposition groups. Consequently, Boston and Los Angeles experienced a significantly greater number of protests and rallies in the last phase than did Atlanta.*

In the first phase, reflecting a more open style of politics, grassroots activity and voluntary programs were significant. In the last phase, the authoritarian nature of Boston school politics was overcome as the directives of the court overrode the power of the dominating actors.

Boston was not the only city where community organizations participated as a consequence of court action. In Boston, however, the organizations' roles were more clearly defined in purpose, with a sharper, narrower focus on desegregation activities than was the case in Los Angeles.

Los Angeles exhibited the greatest number of participating organizations. Most consisted of people united with a vague mandate or agenda relating to desegregation. Despite the large number of organizations in Los Angeles, they did not appear to have significantly more power to effect change than did organizations in the other two cities. Thus, Los Angeles added a change in style, rather than in substance, to the process of integration. This was reflected in the structure of BUSTOP, the main opposition group in Los Angeles, as compared to ROAR, Boston's main opposition group. While both groups were antibusing and hindered attempts to achieve complete desegregation in each city, the Los Angeles organization expressed its opposition more moderately, using tactics such as court intervention and avoiding violence. This was in contrast to ROAR in Boston, which capitalized on the schism between blacks and whites.

A common organization to all three cities was the NAACP. In each city it was the initiator in the court suit to desegregation. In Atlanta, the business community overwhelmed the opposition of the NAACP and through compromise changed its role. In Boston, the NAACP participated not only in the legal aspects of the process but also in the protests and rallies to support integration. In the consultative atmosphere in Los Angeles, the NAACP shared its responsibilites as plaintiff with two other organizations.

Federal Agencies As Actors

The role of Federal agencies was different in each city. Boston was the only city where the Federal agencies administering funds under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act found it necessary to intervene. The resistance to integration, built up over many years and coupled with support from city and School Committee officials, encouraged Federal intervention. In Los Angeles, the threat of the cutoff of Federal funds was present but insignificant. In Atlanta, no Federal role was apparent.

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*Boston's media coverage of community organizations, protests, and rallies was extensive. In Los Angeles, in 6 years (1972-1978) of coverage, only a few protests and 1 or 2 organizations active in desegregation were even mentioned.

The Role of State Governments

The State governments also assumed different positions in each city. In Atlanta, the State government was legally and sometimes actively hostile to attempts to integrate Atlanta's schools prior to 1961. After 1961 the State assumed a passive role, neither supporting nor actively hindering the desegregation process. The two other State governments took a more active and positive role. In Massachusetts, the State Board of Education and its commissioners were among the earliest and strongest voices to promote integration. In California, the State voice was not as strong, yet the State Board of Education did provide guidelines and encouragement for local cities to desegregate. Interestingly, in both cities the prointegration activity of the State Board of Education was muzzled by a more conservative State Legislature and governor. Both boards were relieved of their powers to effect change just prior to the rendering of the final court decision.

The Court Intervention

The differences in court intervention resulted in part from type of court involved and in part from the period of intervention. Both the Atlanta and the Boston court cases were tried in Federal district courts. In each case, the court based its decision on the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in Brown and on subsequent U.S. Supreme Court decisions. In both, the period from initiation of the suit to final decision was relatively short; in Atlanta one year and in Boston two years. The difference between the two is found in the period when each was tried. The suit against Atlanta was decided in 1959, soon after the Brown decision, when the role of the court in desegregation was still unclear. Consequently, the court adopted a more passive role, leaving the implementation framework to be designed by other participants. It was not until the 1970s that the court assumed a more active stance, intervening through its review process to influence the shape of the desegregation plan. The suit against Boston was tried in this later period when the Federal courts understood more clearly their role in facilitating integration. Consequently, in Boston, the court, after initial hesitation, assumed a dominant role in creating and implementing the desegregation plan.

The suit against the Los Angeles Unified School District was filed in the State court system and took longer to reach a final decision (from 1963 to 1975). The case was appealed to the State's highest court. The decision to find Los Angeles guilty of segregation was not based on Brown but on the California State Constitution. Again, since the decision was finally rendered in the 1970s, the court assumed an active role in its implementation.

The Involvement of City Officials

In each city local officials responded to desegregation differently. In Atlanta, the mayor's presence was unnoticed. As power was exercised in the business community and its representatives on the school board, it was not necessary for the mayor to intervene.

In Los Angeles, the mayor, operating from a weak mayoral office, only intervened verbally and publicly to support peaceful integration. In both these cities the tacit support of city officials contributed to peaceful desegregation.

In Boston, the mayor did not actively support peaceful integration. In fact, at times he and other city officials appeared to hinder support of desegregation. They may have contributed by their actions, or inaction, to the escalation of violence in the city.

The Local Board of Education as a Powerful Actor

In all three cities the board of education, the bureaucracy and the superintendent, were the most powerful actors. In Atlanta, the Board of Education, with the business community, shaped the outcome of the process. At first passively resistant to desegregation, the board became a more willing participant in later years, but ignored the issue of quality education. In Boston, the School Committee was a powerful force: it used its power to hinder, delay, and give minimal compliance with court orders to desegregate. Consequently, the court assumed the leadership role and implemented the most complete desegregation plan, coupled with extensive plans to increase the quality of education in local schools.

The Los Angeles Board of Education, as powerful as the other two boards, exhibited the least resistance to efforts to desegregate. It appeared to be the most accessible to community organizations. Despite these characteristics, the desegregation plan was not any more complete than in the other cities. The Los Angeles board emphasized quality education, not desegregation.

CONCLUSIONS

This detailed analysis of desegregation in these three cities suggests several conclusions. In Atlanta, the business community exerted its power to achieve a compromise plan. Their interests thus shaped the focus of desegregation actions, limited the number of participants, and conditioned the responses of those participating. In short, the traditional elite of Atlanta acted to retain the desegregation issue within the confines of the closed political system of the city.

In Boston, there were more participants; however, the final power rested with traditional actors. The Boston School Committee operated

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to hinder, delay or prevent desegregation. The bureaucracy and the superintendent also supported those efforts. The ineffectiveness of the coalition of black and some white groups led to court action.

In Los Angeles, competing interests were encouraged to participate. Reflecting the more open political system and the consultative style of operating, were the greater number of individuals and groups involved in the process.

In all three cities the bureaucracy's role was instrumental in resisting the development and implementation of integration plans. City by city the bureaucracies differed only to a minor degree. Minority lower-income organizations, in contrast, were generally inactive or ineffective. Middle-class white organizations were active participants, respected by the system. City officials were selectively active and nonsupportive of integration plans, or inactive. In all three cities, an external actor--the court--was necessary as a participant before any kind of effective desegregation plan could be designed and accomplished.

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X.

DEMOCRACY, PARTICIPATION, AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The most important finding of this study is that our observations of 16 organizations in three large urban centers revealed that the nature of citizen participation in school affairs has changed during the decade of the 1970s; in fact, advocates of citizen participation have more reason to despair now than they did ten years ago. Citizen organizations have little influence on the educational desisionmaking process. In lower-income communities there is a lack of political-action-directed organizations coupled with frustration over or disinterest in school issues. The environment of city political life and the operating styles of the school systems do not support or encourage effective citizen participation in major school policy issues. Citizen access is generally limited; it is especially closed to those who actively seek a redistribution of resources throughout the system.

A shift in the character of citizen participation can be directly related to those Federal, State and local policies which in recent years have mandated school organizations and provided funding to community organizations for the delivery of supplementary educational services. These policies have effectively diffused the energies of independently based and self-initiated citizen organizations. Advocacy organizations have been replaced by service delivery and mandated advisory organizations in all three cities. Lower-income organizations were especially shaped by these governmental policies. As a result, the agendas of lower-income organizations have become largely defined by school professionals. The creation of these officially sponsored advisory bodies has had a negative impact on the character of citizen participation. These new style organizations have the most direct access to the system but the least influence on school policy.

This dependent relationship with the schools deters organizations from becoming involved with substantive school issues. Mandated organizations legitimate official school policy. Decisionmakers have narrowed their contacts in lower-income communities to these mandated organizations because they consider them to be representative of those communities. The access of self-initiated citizen organizations has been and remains weakened by the presence of mandated and service organizations.

Lower-income citizen organizations have had to become service-delivery oriented in order to maintain themselves. This requires that a good deal of the organizations' time must be spent on identifying sources of support and the preparation of grant proposals: little time is left to devote to policy issues. The goal of involving large numbers of low-income citizens in the major decisions affecting their lives has been replaced by a strategy of providing services to needy clients. Contact with this type of organization for most people does not provide an exercise in the democratic practice of decisionmaking. Internal democracy does not rank as a priority in such organizations. Organizations serving a client membership are generally not concerned with changing the system or empowering lower-income people. Although the services provided may be functional, this new orientation deters the organizations from the political activity which was their original purpose. The advocacy strategy is now more common to middle-to-upper-income organizations.

Most citizen organizations do not get involved with school policy at a level which has systemwide impact or in policy areas that are controversial. To a large extent this is due to the city political and economic structure as well as the politics of the school system. School boards do little to encourage community participation, particularly of poor or working-class populations. The Boston and Atlanta school systems are especially closed to community influence. In Los Angeles the scale and structure of the system make it difficult for citizen organizations to have impact. Active individuals have proved more influential than organizations. A greater number of viable citizen organizations are needed to convey public interests to the school system. This is especially true for the low-income populations.

The study looked at the three most important current school issues in each city. Even in these instances, which provided the best possible conditions for involvement and potential influence, community organizations had minor impact. Many of the organizations did not even address these issues, often because of restrictions placed on them by an external funding source or by a mandating institution. In other instances lack of access to the system discouraged participation.

Middle-to-upper-income citizen organizations did show some impact on school policy. The school systems in all three cities were more responsive to these organizations, which were very likely to pursue advocacy as a strategy. Of the 16 organizations in the study, only three which used advocacy as their main strategy were middle-to-upper income. Advocacy requires taking a position on issues and pursuing action. Generally these organizations were not seeking redistribution of resources; many of their activities were supportive of the system.

The potential for effective participation was less real than a majority of the organizations perceived it to be. The study data suggest differences between the perceptions of organizational leaders and members with regard to their own influence on policy and the actual changes in school policy which they were able to effect.

The study found important distinctions in the internal characteristics of citizen organizations. Differences existed in the type of leadership found in organizations according to income level. Middle-to-upper-income organizations were more likely to have rotating leadership. This type of leadership provided greater opportunities for citizen participation. Lower-income organizations tended to have either constant leadership or else a paid staff responsible for the continuity of the organization.

In many cases this type of leadership dominated the issues and activities of the organization, excluding members from the democratic process. Middle-to-upper-income organization leaders had more resources and greater access to decisionmakers.

Lower-income organizations cannot emulate middle-to-upper-income organizations and expect to get the same results. Lower-income organizations have such limited resources that they must capitalize on the resource of large membership numbers. Their goals are more likely to involve reallocation of resources and/or a redistribution of power in the system and these are the changes most difficult to achieve. No single model for organizational effectiveness exists: effectiveness will vary according to the nature of an organization and the level of institutional change being sought.

The networking data in the study confirmed that middle-to-upper-income organizations found it easiest to build networks with other organizations. Mandated organizations were the most isolated, interacting mostly with their mandating institution and not with self-initiated community organizations. An organization's effectiveness increased with greater exchange of ideas and resources with other citizen organizations.

The results of the study led us to conclude that the prospects of effective citizen participation in educational decisionmaking do not look very promising, especially for the lower-income population. Strategies must change; most important, dependence upon external support must be reduced--if not avoided altogether. The impetus and energies of a truly effective organization must come from within. Major changes must take place in the politics and structure of school systems to make them more accessible to these organizations. Community organizations can only be effective in an environment which gives them greater access to power.

POTENTIAL FOR PARTICIPATION

At least two discernible thrusts in democratic theory influence attitudes towards citizen participation and community organizations. One approach seeks protection against direct and/or mass participation and rationalizes that stability and efficiency are prior needs to citizen participation. Centralization and professionalism are the means to these ends. The lack of citizen participation is even viewed as desirable (Lipset, 1960). To the extent that associations and organizations do not interfere with the system and its goals, they are viewed as acceptable participants.

The other thrust of democratic theory relies heavily on the process of citizenship participation and self-rule. It seeks the widest range of participants and measures the viability of the political system in those terms. It views individual action, particularly voting, as only one limited form of political participation. Involvement in community organizations is seen as a significant means for actualizing citizen participation, particularly for populations otherwise excluded from the political process. An important difference in the two approaches is that the former, at best, is unconcerned with the extent of participation; at worst, discourages it. The latter is primarily concerned with expanding citizen participation through a multiplicity of mechanisms.

These distinctions in the approaches to democratic systems are particularly relevant to any evaluation of community organization and participation. Quantitative research and evaluation of citizen participation necessarily demonstrate high correlations between low socioeconomic status and voting and other forms of political participation (Verba, 1961; Milbraith, 1965). Virtually ignored in this research are the selective studies which suggest that under certain circumstances poor and minority people do participate, particularly in certain kinds of organizations. Myrdal, an early researcher, noted this phenomenon in his discussion of black groups (Myrdal, 1947). More recent research suggests that membership in any organization, even if it is not political, makes an individual more likely to join a political organization and engage in some form of political participation. Socioeconomic status under these circumstances is not as highly correlated with participation (Verba and Shabad, 1978). In a recent study of working-class neighborhood organizations in Chicago, the data indicated women of low socioeconomic status had unusual levels of political participation (McCourt, 1977).

We are convinced that if the interest of social scientists were to expand participation, they would seek to understand the circumstances under which it is likely to occur, and expend greater effort to understand these phenomena. Elite pluralist researchers have dominated the field and they have reflected their priorities and values in an emphasis on voting behavior and forms of individual participation. We admit, in the study, to a bias which regards participation in an organization, or in the political system, not only as an intrinsically valuable act for the individual but essential to a democratic society. Participation in organizations provides a training ground in citizenship for individuals who participate; it is also the only means for some segments of the population to gain access to the political system. Our research, therefore, judges the effectiveness of citizen organizations from both perspectives. To what extent does the organization serve that function, so essential to a democratic society, as a point of access for an otherwise excluded segment of the population? How do organizations challenge the system to respond to their constituents' needs? Is it solely concerned with maintaining their own life? We can only conclude that the effectiveness, or lack of it, of community organizations is not only a function of their own internal structure but is very much a product of external forces.

Our review of a variety of economic, social and political variables suggests the overwhelming importance of the distribution of economic resources and power as an influence on the role of community organizations as manifest in class differences. In each of the three cities we observe a structural economic crisis of a different level; but common to all is the maintenance of a large underclass minority population. That population is excluded from the economic benefits of the system; as a consequence, it is also politically deprived. Community organizations too seldom see these broader issues as problems central to their purpose and inhibiting their effectiveness.

Having considered analyses made from a variety of perspectives, the study concludes that in general the political economy of these cities, and the insulated character of politics in all three, militate against participation. Some behavioral difference in the three cities can be discerned but they have only a minimal impact on the role of community organizations. Atlanta has provided for a more upwardly mobile black middle-class population of limited size and power. It has also opened the city's political system to that same population. Neither of these circumstances has, however, resulted in any change in the general distribution of resources or benefits to the underclass (see Appendix A: City Profiles). We can detect no difference in impact on the openness of the system nor its school policies as distinguished from the other cities. In Los Angeles, there was more activity, more involvement of citizens in advocacy committees, more consultation with existing organizations, and even more mandated groups. The political system in general can be described as more open and more participatory. This active involvement has made citizens more knowledgeable about how the system works; it has also made them more dissatisfied with the results. Interview and questionnaire results showed members and leaders of organizations more distrusting of the

Los Angeles Unified School District than of its Atlanta and Boston counterparts. Respondents recognized that the school system encourages a level of involvement but denied that this resulted in actual influence on school policy.

All of the organization leaders in the three cities saw the politcal system as an obstacle to the fulfillment of organization goals, although they generally (with only two exceptions) considered their own organizations "effective." This indicates to us the relatively narrow goals they set for themselves.

Our analysis of access to the school system indicates that although operating styles differed, as did bureaucratic and board representativeness (with Los Angeles the most consultative and Atlanta the most racially representative) influence on school policies was limited in all three cities. We conclude that none of the cities has gone beyond administrative decentralization of its school systems. Control over school policymaking is still tightly held and guarded by professional bureaucrats at school headquarters. Neither the school boards nor the bureaucrats, even if they are racially representative of the minority population, demonstrated a willingness to share power and engage nonprofessionals in the policy process. Professional control continues to be a pervasive fact in the three cities. This has a most decisive impact on the role and effectiveness of community organizations.

Even with regard to electoral politics, we find little evidence to suggest that community organizations can be more effective when minorities are elected to office. The networking research identified some contacts between lower-income minority organizations and minority officials. In Atlanta and Los Angeles, however, the election of black city officials, councilpersons and school board members has not resulted in a significant shift in city or school policy. Gains, made by electing minority representatives or appointing minority bureaucrats were not transferable as power to the organizations representing these same group interests. Class and professional identification seemed to be far more significant than race or ethnic group identification. The increase in symbolic representation has certainly not resulted in any redistribution of power or benefits to the large underclass population. Schools in lower-income black neighborhoods in Atlanta have not changed as a result of the increase in representation of blacks in city or school offices. It may be that time is a factor, and that black leaders more committed to lower-class interests will come in the next wave of elected black officials, but at this time we have little evidence to support this hope. It is probably more true, however, that party and electoral politics are of declining importance in American cities and not as significant for lower-class populations as some observers believe (Hamilton, 1978). Our networking data support this conclusion, and reflect a low level of contact between community organizations and political parties (see Chapter IV: Networking and Organization Effectiveness). The options we have described for enhancing the role of community organizations are of limited effectiveness: one must look elsewhere for more promising solutions.

Abrahamsson suggests that "democracy must concern the maximization of two equality values; equality of influence on decisionmaking and equality of economics and material resources." He presents this schematically:

Chart 10-1. Sociotechnical and political participation:

		Sociotechnical participation	
		0	1
Political participation	0	1	2
	1	3	4

According to participatory theory, democracy is best achieved through increased participation in local communities and organizations. Equalitarian theory maintains that democracy can best be achieved through the redistribution of economic and material resources. Abrahamssson concludes that "The problem seems to be to find practical ways for gradually upgrading economic equality, taking due account of the mobilizing potentials of participation...More equal distribution of resources between organizations and groups can probably be achieved simultaneously with centralization and debureaucratization within them " (Abrahamsson, 1977).

This analysis most closely approximates the conclusion our research leads us to. Lower-class organizations cannot by themselves, even with the most efficient and effective internal structure (however that is defined), contend with the external forces which limit their role and constrain their activities. These external forces have, in fact, as we have shown, a direct influence on their internal structure. A concerted effort to expand economic equality is essential to the development of more effective lower-class organizations. The evidence in this study demonstrates that participation of lower-class organizations, by any significant measure, is nominal. It further reports a movement toward an increase in dependency on external support, which moves organizations away from participation and minimizes their influence. Their role in challenging the system, of fostering institutional change and providing access for those who are otherwise powerless, is subverted to maintenance of the organization for its own sake. Under these circumstances they are less able to fulfill their responsibility of providing a means of access or an expression of the interests of their constituencies.

It is unfortunate but true that the demand we are placing on lower-class organizations is one which they are, as a population, least in a position to meet. We are asking those with the most limited resources to be the most resourceful; to eschew individual needs and incentives for the good of the group; to maintain allegiance to broader social issues and goals and limit their efforts to build large and stable organizations; to broaden the base of their own participation and internal democracy and become more independent and self-reliant; and to reduce direct external dependency. We encourage them to sustain advocacy as a primary strategy, although this requires the greatest investment of time and energy, and they are the least able to make this investment. In fact, we are asking them to be the source for reform of the very system that has denied them any means of access.

We hope, however, that this study will point out to those in positions of power that if they want to support the development of strong lower-income organizations, then current policies are not achieving those results. It is vital to encourage independence from external funding sources. It is nonproductive and misdirects energies to mandate community organizations. It is evident that restructuring school systems to decentralize decisionmaking has not occurred; it is also evident that decentralized decisionmaking can be an effective means of building community participation and creating access to the system for lower-income community organizations.

In the past, public policies have selectively supported independent lower-income organizations. Many of those organizations, however, which challenged the structure--whether through the Ocean Hill-Brownsville demonstration district, ACORN, or Mobilization for Youth--were soon denied support. Judging by that experience, it may be futile to suggest flexible public policies which encourage opposition to the existing order. As with our recommendations to the community organizations themselves, we see no alternative to the adoption of advocacy strategies. We consider public support for active community development organizations which take on school issues as part of their larger efforts as the most attractive means for raising the level of activity. At a minimum, support should be developed for mixed service-advocacy groups. The organizations, if they are externally dependent, should not depend on any single source of funding. Their multi-issue community development orientation makes them potentially more appealing and less likely to dissipate the energies of community people. The emphasis on school issues as an integral part of community development, not separate and divorced from it, is, we think, a constructive response to the needs and interests of the lower-income populations.

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Chapter X

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